

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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L'ART DE RÉGNER IN XVIIITH CENTURY FRENCH TRAGEDY

In XVIIth century French writings a king is generally credited with motives attesting that, great as the potentate appears, greater still is the man in him; appraisals of contemporary monarchs concur: the surname of "le Juste" given to Louis XIII, La Motte's tribute to Louis XIV,

. . . pour t'admirer j'envisage
Tes vertus plus que tes exploits . . .
. . . respectant les limites
Que te prescrivait l'Équité,
Cent fois à ces bornes prescrites
Ton courage s'est arrêté.¹

In tragedy, however, the office of king ordinarily subjugates the man: initiative is often dictated by the claims of practical politics; good faith, discretion, integrity are commonly ruled by the *maximes d'État* which measure the discipline of the profession,

La justice n'est pas une vertu d'État . . .
La timide équité détruit l'art de régner,²
La foi ne doit point faire un esclave d'un Roi;
Aux besoins de l'État cette chimère cède,³
. . . quelque grand que soit un potentat,
Il n'est pas à lui-même, il est à son État.⁴

¹ *La Sagesse du Roi Supérieure à tous les événements* (Œuvres, Paris, Prault, 1754, I, 143-144). See dedication of Racine's *Alexandre, Discours Prononcé à la Tête du Clergé par M. L'Abbé Colbert*, 1685. Cf. L. Batiffol, *Richelieu et le Roi Louis XIII*, Paris, Calmann-Lévy, 1934, pp. 75, 83; D. Mornet, *Les Origines Intellectuelles de la Révolution Française*, Paris, Colin, 1933, 9.

² Corneille, *Pompée*, 1643, I, 1.

³ Mme Deshoulières, *Genséric*, 1680, II, 5.

⁴ Le Clerc, *Iphigénie*, 1675, I, 2.

The prince who deteriorates in office is found in classical sources. Leaving aside the imitators of Ulysses who turn instinctively to trickery, it may still be said that the kings of Greek drama yield readily to political impulses. Royal power puts upon them a stamp which can be emphasized by contrasts within or without the individual. In Sophocles, the bluster of King Œdipus is stressed by the ingenuousness of Creon;⁵ and later, King Creon's overbearing conduct stands out against his own pre-regal mien and Haemon's discretion.⁶ Agamemnon deplores the yoke of power,⁷ bemoans the fact that opinion silences justice;⁸ and illustrates the bondage of his position in denying Hecuba's claim against her son's murderer,

This very man the host account their friend,
The dead their foe: that dear he is to thee
Is nought to them . . .

in me thou hast one fain
To share thy toil, and swift to lend thee aid,
But slow to face Achaeans' murmurings.⁹

D'Aubignac saw in the disparaging of ancient kings an homage to a democratic Athens; he cautioned his confrères that the French, who respected and loved their kings, would not allow "que les Roys puissent estre meschans."¹⁰ The drama must, he insisted, "enseigner des choses qui . . . montrent toujours les Souverains comme des objets de vénération, environnés des vertus . . . et soutenus de la main de Dieu, qui ne les défend pas moins des grands crimes que des grands malheurs."¹¹

The warning was tardy and futile. Plays of the preceding hun-

⁵ *Œdipus Tyrannus*, Oxford Trans., New York, 1879, 22.

⁶ *Antigone*, Oxford Trans., ed. cit., 183 et seq.

⁷ Euripides, *Iphigeneia at Aulis*, Loeb Classical Library, New York, 1916, *Euripides*, I, 9.

⁸ Sophocles, *Ajax*, Oxford Trans., ed. cit., 282.

⁹ Euripides, *Hecuba*, Loeb Cl. Lib., ed. cit., *Euripides*, I, 315.

¹⁰ *La Pratique du Théâtre*, 1657, ed. Martino, Paris, Champion, 1927, 73.

¹¹ *Troisième Dissertation concernant le Poème Dramatique*; cf. *Recueil de Dissertations sur plusieurs Tragédies . . .*, Granet, Paris, 1740, II, 33. Fact is no argument: ". . . quand la vérité répugne à la générosité, à l'honnêteté . . . de la Scène, il faut que [le poète] l'abandonne, et qu'il prenne le vraisemblable pour faire un beau poème, au lieu d'une méchante histoire" (*op. cit.*, I, 147). Again: ". . . quand on met sur notre théâtre des exemples de la mauvaise fortune (des rois) . . . il en faut retrancher toutes les circonstances qui peuvent faire mal penser de leur conduite" (*Id.*, II, 33).

dred years had familiarized the French audiences with the lèse-majesté of the theater; and the professional deformation of kings was to be more and more utilized by the dramatists throughout the century. The stage had already discounted God's guardianship over a luckless Sedecie,

. . . pourquoi
Me fait-il torturer par un pire que moy? ¹²

and God's influence over a tormented Saul,

Oh! la belle façon d'aller ainsi chercher
Les hommes pour après les faire trebucher.¹³

Kings' principles had been derided as pawns in a game of politics. Gratitude is brushed aside by suspicion. The Saul of Des Masures turns against his benefactor David at the first show of the latter's popularity,

Que reste-il désormais à ceste gent meschante
Que de l'auoir pour Roy . . .¹⁴

Justice is supplanted by policy. Agesilas vouches satisfaction to a peasant whose daughters were murdered by noblemen. However, the peasant must produce the culprits, and the king's counselors oppose his petition for aid,

Sur la delation du meurtre de tes filles,
Nous ne devons fletir l'honneur de deux familles.¹⁵

The peasant's witnesses are heard, and the counselors impugn the testimony. The king reverts to his assurances, and when the peasant denounces

pareille remise
Grace à ces assassins execrables promise,¹⁶

he is ousted by the counselors. Thus is justified the boast of the criminals,

Nous dans Sparte premiers, d'illustre parentage,
Craindre ce paysan? ¹⁷

¹² Garnier, *les Juives*, v. The other king of the play, Nebuchadnezzar, is exhibited as a "roy carnacier."

¹³ Jean de La Taille, *Saul Furieux*, iv.

¹⁴ *David Triomphant* (Ed. Société des Textes Français Modernes, Paris, Cornély, 1907), 162. The fact that the demonstration is a trick of the devil (ed. cit., 130-132, 143-145) does not vindicate a watchful Providence.

¹⁵ Hardy, *Scédase* (1605-1615), v.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ *Id.*, III.

Integrity is swayed by opportunism. Priam welcomes Achilles's love for Polixene as a promise of peace. His sons advise that the Greek hero be lured with a message of approval and be put to death. Priam, the king, concedes the merit of the *coup*,

. . . il faut l'appaster, l'allecher,
Et puis d'un saut mortel le faire trebucher.¹⁸

Priam, the man, is beset with scruples,

Inuiolable foy, rare ornement des Rois,
Que te gardant ne puis-je arrester à mon choix?
La foy sur les vertus pare vne Royauté,¹⁹

but his protestations are refuted as

Discours mal assortis à la bouche d'un Roy.²⁰

Priam leaves to other hands the execution of the deed which he condones, and he departs with an appeal for commiseration,

Allez contre mon gré, vn meurtre ie permets . . .
Seul ie vay deuorer mon angoisse profonde.²¹

Montchrestien's *Reine d'Escoce* (pub. 1604) substitutes for the more or less private purpose of the sovereign the "bien de la patrie."²² Queen Elizabeth is asked to disregard "le droit des Gens et de Nature" in judging Queen Mary. She resists the entreaty,

A dire vray, sa vie importe à nostre Estat,
Mais la faire mourir c'est vn grand attentat (II);

but the State prevails.

As in the preceding case the sovereign has no playing part in the act which she authorizes; her last words on the stage are to reassure herself that she will find a way to oppose it,

Ie rompray cependant le coup de l'entreprise (II).²³

¹⁸ Hardy, *la Mort d'Achille* (1605-1615), II, 1.

¹⁹ *Id.*, II, 1; IV, 1.

²⁰ *Id.*, IV, 1.

²¹ *Ib.*

²² The notion occurs before (cf. Garnier, *la Troade*, 1578, III); but Montchrestien is, I believe, the first to exploit it.

²³ The absence of the queen in the last three acts is the more striking since her struggle with the State's claim is the sole intrigue in the play.

A sympathetic exit for the monarch, an effort to separate him from the crime which he allows or commands will be a feature of the theatrical *art de régner*.²⁴ The most frequent token of the dramatist's solicitude is the early withdrawal of the king from the stage. In the works following I shall point out the cases in which he remains to the end of the play.

In the four plays just cited — Saul duped by the devil, Agesilas and Priam dominated by advisers, Elizabeth governed by State policy — the monarch's will is not his own. Later plays shift the initiative to the king. Du Ryer's *Alcionée* (1637) exemplifies the new procedure. Alcionée overthrew a king, and re-established him after obtaining the hand of his daughter. Once restored the king repudiates his word,

. . . de cette promesse autrefois nécessaire,
N'attendez point d'effet qui ne vous soit contraire.
Pour le bien de l'estat ayant sçu l'aüancer,
Pour le bien de l'estat ie puis m'en dispenser (II, 3).²⁵

He does not fail to appreciate the "grand cœur" of Alcionée, but

les thrones sont des Cieux
Où ne doivent monter que des Rois ou des Dieux (II, 3).

He consents to leave the decision to the princess, thus sharing with her the prerogative of evasion,

. . . ie l'ay fait seulement
Pour vous voir résister à ce consentement (III, 4).

The king needs the support of his daughter and his courtiers (Lancaster), and requires prompting in his later move against Alcionée; but he does not lack eagerness to perform his duty. It is the better to mark the sternness of the king's responsibility that the dramatist has put in the mouth of Alcionée's friend the first hint of what is to come,

S'il sçait l'art de régner, il vous arrêtera (IV, 3).²⁶

²⁴ Cf. my article, "The Shifting of Responsibility in XVIIth Century French Tragic Drama," *MLN.*, XLIX, 3, 152-158.

²⁵ The "tiltre de iuste" given to the king — perhaps an allusion to Louis XIII (Lancaster) — is not for the stage a brevet of probity. Du Ryer's *Cléomède* (1634-1636) contains another example of breach of promise.

²⁶ Luckily Alcionée kills himself, and the king is spared a further test in "la sublime science des Rois."

Many kings of the Cornelian period could be arraigned for misdeeds of the *art de régner*; a few examples from the plays of Corneille himself suffice to test the servitude of the "souveraine raison des souverains."²⁷

Corneille exploits the weakness of kings rather than their fortitude. He outdoes the Greeks. In his *Médée* (1635), for example, Creon, whom Euripides shielded against Medea's recriminations, is now subjected to grave charges. Seneca set a precedent, but Corneille goes farther in exposing—with corroboration for Medea's word—the breach of promise (I, 1), the trading of a refugee against the alliance of a neighbor (II, 2).²⁸ In *Pompée* (1643) there is a contrast between two codes of leadership: the faith that kings have that within

Qui dessous leur vertu *range* leurs passions (II, 1),

and the experience that a king

Balance le pouvoir et non pas les raisons (I, 1).

Between the two doctrines moves a king imagined for the occasion (his age was raised "afin que . . . portant le titre de roi, il tâchât d'en soutenir le caractère"²⁹). Having to choose "bien des périls ou beaucoup d'infamie," Ptolemy lets himself be guided by "le bien de l'État" into the safer course of servility before the Roman Cæsar.³⁰

Corneille's admiration for Rome cooled toward the middle of his career, and in *Nicomède* (1650-1651) he undertook to humiliate the object of his previous worship (Geoffroy). But the poet's change of heart did not benefit King Prusias, whose submission to a shameless Rome exemplifies all the better

quel attentat

Font sur le bien public les maximes d'état (III, 2).³¹

²⁷ Corneille, *Tite et Bérénice*, v, 4.

²⁸ Self-interest is stronger than good faith in enabling him to risk war (II, 3).

²⁹ Corneille, *Examen de Pompée*.

³⁰ Ptolemy is the same sort of king in Gillet de la Tessonerie's *Art de Régner*, III (pub. 1645), only "more hesitant" (Lancaster). A precedent is found in the Massinissa of Mairet's *Sophonisbe* (1634).

³¹ Prusias remains in the play till the end; his presence serves to bolster up the apotheosis of Nicomède.

At the same time Corneille also commended a king for his integrity. There again, he did no service to kings in general, for the king whom he exalts is not one born and bred to the manner of kings, but a self-made king. The conqueror Grimoald (*Pertharite*, 1651) holds a singular conception of his office,

Le pouvoir absolu n'a rien de redoutable
Dont à sa conscience un roi ne soit comptable (II, 3).

The tranquillity of the State demands that he declare the returned ex-king *Pertharite* an impostor and quietly do away with him,

Si je pense régner, sa mort m'est nécessaire (v, 2).

Pertharite himself, with the instinct of a former king, acknowledges the justice of his doom,

Ma mort pour Grimoald ne peut avoir de crime:
Le soin de s'affermir lui rend tout légitime (iv, 5).

But the usurper does not hesitate. He explains, as he surrenders the throne, that he feigned to believe *Pertharite* an impostor in order to save him,

Des maximes d'état j'ai voulu t'affranchir,
Et ne voir pas ma gloire indignement trahie
Par la nécessité de m'immoler ta vie (v, 5).

The failure of an upstart to comply with the requisites of his borrowed profession can only enhance the dependability of the true-born king;³² thus *Pertharite* may serve as a prologue to *Suréna*.

Suréna carries a step farther "la defiance qui n'abandonne point la supresme puissance" (Du Ryer). King Orode is perturbed over his indebtedness to *Suréna* for reinstating him on his throne,

Un service au-dessus de toute récompense
A force d'obliger tient presque lieu d'offense (III, 1).

Suréna's services and character cannot allay the fear

Qu'il n'ose quelque jour s'en payer par ses mains (*Ib.*).

³² In Corneille's *Héraclius* (1647) the parvenu king had observed the tradition,

. . . j'ai mis au tombeau, pour régner sans effroi,
Tout ce que j'en ai vu de plus digne que moi (I, 1).

"La saine politique" prescribes:

Ou faites-le périr, ou faites-en un gendre (*Ib.*);

and Suréna declines the proposal of marriage.⁵³ Orode repels the idea of destroying a friend,

que tout l'État perisse . . .
Avant que je défère à ces raisons d'État
Qui nommeroient justice un si lâche attentat (*Ib.*);

but his uneasiness grows. The intercession of a friend of Suréna,

. . . perdre Surena, c'est livrer aux Romains
Un sceptre que son bras a remis en vos mains (v, 1),

determines the king to "obéir à la nécessité."⁵⁴

In the second half of the century the *art de régner* is variously interpreted. Racine makes the observance of a prejudice a test of Titus's fitness,

Maintiendrai-je des lois que je ne puis garder?⁵⁵

The diplomacy of Pyrrhus's surrendering the son of Andromache draws the comment:

C'est acheter la paix du sang d'un malheureux.⁵⁶

The solicitude of Narcissus for Nero's prestige,

Tant de précaution affoiblit votre règne,⁵⁷

is obvious scoundrelism.

In *Iphigénie* Racine makes the contention of king and man more obstinate and searching than it has been heretofore, in this or any other theme. Euripides's Agamemnon was quickly brought to silence his paternal feeling by the realization of his helplessness. Rotrou's Agamemnon needed but little coaxing to surrender to his own ambition. Racine's Agamemnon is thoroughly harassed by his conflicting concerns; and if in the end the king wins, it is the victory of a bewildered king over a devastated man.

Agamemnon is proud to say that he first refused the sacrifice

⁵³ He submits that a marriage between the princess and himself would cause embarrassment to both (III, 2).

⁵⁴ In *Iphigénie*, a few months previously, Racine used a tactless intercession to insure the victory of the *raison d'État*.

⁵⁵ *Bérénice*, IV, 5.

⁵⁶ *Andromaque*, II, 4.

⁵⁷ *Britannicus*, IV, 4.

demanded of him. He yielded, however, before the alternative pictured by Ulysses,

Il me représenta l'honneur et la patrie . . .
De quel front, immolant ³⁸ tout l'État à ma fille,
Roi sans gloire, j'irois vieillir dans ma famille (I, 1).

He now maneuvers to evade his pledge. His scheme having miscarried, he again undertakes to fulfill his duty to the State. But he is moved to humanity by the cries of Clytemnestra, and the resignation of Iphigeneia disarms him. Then he is recalled to his official interest by the intervention of Achilles,

Ma fille toute seule étoit plus redoutable.
Ton insolent amour qui croit m'épouvanter,
Vient de hâter le coup que tu veux arrêter . . .
Ma gloire intéressée emporte la balance (IV, 7).

He conceives a plan to discipline Achilles without surrendering Iphigeneia,

Il l'aime, elle vivra pour un autre que lui (IV, 8).

He will seek delay. . . . Fortunately for all involved, the matter is taken out of his hands. Achilles hinders the sacrifice, and the dazed Agamemnon, who does not dare to uphold the rebel,

Le triste Agamemnon, qui n'ose l'avouer,
Pour détourner ses yeux des meurtres qu'il présage
Ou pour cacher ses pleurs, s'est voilé le visage (V, 5).³⁹

The foregoing synopses suffice to show that in the matter of kings the XVIIth century theater does not disagree with Voltaire's lines:

Un roi pour ses sujets est un dieu qu'on révère,
Pour Hercule et pour moi, c'est un homme ordinaire.⁴⁰

The deduction, it may be objected, does not take into account the manifestations of royalism which occur in the plays cited. True, the dramatists did not alter historical attestation in order to glorify kings, and even ignored history in disparaging this or that

³⁸ I. e., giving up "l'empire d'Asie à la Grèce promis."

³⁹ He is seen by critics as upholding a majestic dignity (Petit de Julleville, *Le Théâtre en France*, Paris, Colin, 1927, 164; L. B. Picard and J. Peyrot, *Répertoire du Théâtre Français*, Paris, Duprat, 1826, Ie Partie, I, xxxvi).

⁴⁰ *Œdipe*, II, 4.

king; but they missed no opportunity to affirm that kings partake of the divine wisdom,

Les Rois comme les Dieux tout-puissants icy bas
Ont tousiours des clartez que les autres n'ont pas,⁴¹

that they are above the reach of men,

. . . le trône soutient la majesté des rois
Au-dessus du mépris, comme au-dessus des lois.⁴²

Unfortunately, the utterances are not backed by moral authority, nor ratified by examples; but on the contrary, they come from impeachable sources,⁴³ and are belied by the spectacles which provoke them.⁴⁴

The plays which I have cited indicate on the part of the XVIIth century French tragedy an inclination to stigmatize the "art de régner." The hesitancy accorded to kings confronted by "raisons d'État," the attempt to shift responsibility from them to their advisers, the precaution to divorce them from the execution of criminal schemes, the pronouncements regarding the sacredness of their authority do not mask the scars made upon men by the "métier de roi."

MAURICE BAUDIN

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⁴¹ Du Ryer, *Alcionée*, I, 1.

⁴² Corneille, *Médée*, II, 3.

⁴³ The first of the two utterances quoted is that of a sycophant (cf. v, 1). The second is made by a king who has betrayed a pledge, and its object is to protect from ridicule an old king in search of young pleasures. Such maxims are usually spoken in self-defense, cf. Garnier, *Antigone*, IV; Hardy, *Didon*, III, 1; Mairer, *Chryséide et Arimand*, v, 3; Rotrou, *Antigone*, II, 4; Mme Deshoulières, *Genséric*, II, 5.

⁴⁴ In trying to visualize kingly behavior one naturally recalls that of the monarch (*Hamlet*, IV, 5) who under terrifying circumstances spoke of the "divinity that doth hedge a king." I have found no such concordance of words and conduct in the French plays which I have examined. In some instances the discrepancy is immense. One would hardly guess, for example, that the speech:

. . . je ne rends point compte de mes desseins.
Ma fille ignore encor mes ordres souverains,
Et, quand il sera temps qu'elle en soit informée,
Vous apprendrez son sort, j'en instruirai l'armée

(Racine, *Iphigénie*, IV, 6)

belongs to the most perplexed king in the repertory.

ANTI-SLAVERY OPINION IN THE POEMS OF SOME
EARLY FRENCH FOLLOWERS OF JAMES THOMSON

In an eloquent anti-slavery pamphlet published in 1826, the abbé Henri Grégoire, carried away by his zeal for abolition, and evidently forgetful of some of his early associates in the movement, wrote:

Dans tous les pays et dans tous les siècles, la classe la plus rampante fut toujours celle des poètes. . . . De nos jours . . . les poètes . . . affluent autour des maîtres de la terre et des heureux du siècle. Si, à défendre la cause des esclaves et de tant d'autres infortunés, il y avait à gagner des pensions, des parchemins, des cordons, des titres, le ban et l'arrière-ban de la littérature voleraient à la curée; mais les malheureux ne peuvent offrir que des bénédictions et des larmes d'attendrissement.¹

Whether or not the accusation was well founded at this date, the fact may easily be established that several poets who in their day enjoyed real success had protested in no uncertain terms against the evils of slavery and certainly contributed to the growth of abolition sentiment during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. It happens, also, that these poets have another common bond in that they are all influenced to some degree, insofar as their descriptive poetry is concerned, by James Thomson's *Seasons*.² Their remarks on slavery therefore are of additional interest when compared with Thomson's treatment of this subject.

While Thomson delights in the thought of the felicity of

. . . many a happy isle,
The seat of blameless Pan, yet undisturbed
By Christian crimes and Europe's cruel sons,³

he nevertheless makes only a brief allusion to the slave trade. In *Summer*, written in 1727, he describes the "direful shark" of the torrid zone:

Lured by the scent
Of steaming crowds, of rank disease, and death,
Behold! he rushing cuts the briny flood,

¹ *De la Noblesse de la peau* . . . Paris, 1826, pp. 70-71.

² See Margaret M. Cameron, *L'Influence des Saisons de Thomson sur la poésie descriptive en France (1759-1810)*, Paris, 1927, *passim*.

³ *The Complete Poetical Works of James Thomson*, Oxford ed., London, 1908, *Summer*, ll. 853-855.

Swift as the gale can bear the ship along;
 And from the partners of that cruel trade
 Which spoils unhappy Guinea of her sons
 Demands his share of prey—demands themselves.
 The stormy fates descend: one death involves
 Tyrants and slaves. . . .⁴

The expansion of this theme in several poems inspired by *The Seasons* supports Miss Cameron's belief that the imitators of Thomson valued the philosophical and moral content of his poem more highly than the descriptive, thereby turning their English model into an "instrument of propaganda."⁵

In Saint-Lambert's poem *Les Saisons*, first published in 1769, there is no direct mention of slavery until the editions of 1775 and after, when these lines occur:

Qu'on ne me vante plus ce bonheur des climats
 Où jamais Orion n'envoya les frimas;
 Qu'un sol riche, un ciel pur, et l'or, soient leur
 partage:
 Le nôtre est la raison, l'horreur de l'esclavage. . . .⁶

In his notes to the poem, however, the poet makes an important issue of slavery. He proposes essentially the same question that was to become, eighteen years later, the subject of the abbé Raynal's essay contest: "La découverte de l'Amérique et celle du passage aux Indes par le cap de Bonne-Espérance ont-elles servi au bonheur de l'espèce humaine?" Putting this question in turn to natives of Peru, Mexico, and Panama, he meets unanimous longing for the happy days before the Europeans' invasion. He seeks in the Antilles some descendant of the peaceful tribes that once thrived there, but finds not one: ". . . les restes de cette race ont été mis en pièces sur les étaux des bouchers pour servir de nourriture aux chiens de leurs conquérants."⁷ Turning now to the African coast, the poet discovers that the Negroes are in a constant state of warfare, for

les Anglois, les François, les Portugais, avec un art infernal, sement et entretiennent la division parmi ces peuples qui leur vendent leurs prison-

⁴ *Ibid.*, ll. 1015-1023.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, pp. 135, 151.

⁶ *Œuvres de Saint-Lambert*, Paris, 1795, I, 184.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 214.

niers de guerre. Or je sais comment ces prisonniers sont traités dans nos isles à sucre. . . .⁹

He concludes:

Plusieurs de ces peuples étoient méchants, j'en conviens; mais je dis, avec le marquis de Vauvenargues, "On n'a pas le droit de rendre malheureux ceux qu'on ne peut pas rendre bons."⁹

Le Mierre published in 1779 *Les Fastes, ou les usages de l'année*. In some twenty lines he laments the day when intrepid navigators first touched the shores of

Un peuple hospitalier, plus simple que sauvage,
Dont les mœurs retraçaient celles du premier âge,
Et qui sans défiance en sa noble candeur,
Ouvrait également son pays et son cœur.¹⁰

In the succeeding epoch of gold-seeking, matters went from bad to worse;

Pour repeupler les lieux ravagés par nos coups,
Il faut d'autres forfaits trop facile pour vous:
Vous courez, inhumains, aux rivages d'Afrique,
Vous traînez dans les fers un peuple pacifique;
Et le commerce a pu, grand Dieu! le croiroit-on!
A ces crimes publics prostituer son nom!¹¹

In impassioned lines that may have been inspired by a passage in the abbé Raynal's *Histoire des deux Indes*,¹² Le Mierre warns of the dangers of a revolt such as actually took place a score of years later:

Poursuivez, mais craignez que peut-être bientôt
L'homme dans l'Afrique ne s'éveille en sursaut;
Du nombre à tout moment l'avantage lui reste,
A tout moment sur vous pend ce glaive funeste;
Tremblez qu'il ne s'élève un nouveau Spartacus,
La nature et l'instinct ne sont jamais vaincus.¹³

Like Saint-Lambert, Le Mierre appends copious notes to his verse. They are particularly concerned with the mistreatment of Negro

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 215.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *Œuvres de A.-M. Le Mierre*, Paris, 1810, III, 141-142.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 142.

¹² Genève, 1775 (4to ed.), III, 414.

¹³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 142-143.

slaves, and add an authoritative note to the poet's argument by generous quotations from a letter allegedly written from Santo Domingo.

Roucher's poem, *Les Mois*, published in two formats in 1779, devotes forty lines to the question:

. . . de quel droit plonger dans l'esclavage
L'homme innocent et doux, que vous nommez sauvage? ¹⁴

The closing lines attest Roucher's strength of feeling on the subject:

Eh bien! qu'un Dieu vengeur des enfans de l'Afrique,
Et du sang dont le glaive inonda l'Amérique;
Qu'un Dieu dans ces climats vous poursuive; et sur vous,
Des vents, des feux, des eaux déchaîne le courroux;
Que sous vos pas, la terre ébranlée, entr'ouverte
S'abyme dans la mer de vos débris couverte;
Et que votre supplice épouvante à jamais
L'avare imitateur de vos lâches forfaits! ¹⁵

In his preface, Roucher says that the fifteen pages of notes (twelve in the quarto edition) that form the commentary to the above lines were written by "M. Garat, jeune avocat." With the thoroughness of his profession, Garat defends the Negroes' cause in a long plea addressed to an imaginary European sovereign. He attacks the historical justification of slavery upheld by Grotius and Puffendorf, showing that neither slaves taken in war, nor sold by themselves or by others, nor slaves by birth can legitimately exist in a well-ordered and civilized society. He shows that slavery is incompatible with the Christian religion; that laws like the *Code noir*, designed to protect the slaves, are worthless; that slavery is detrimental to the moral tone of a colony; and, finally, that a revolt of the slaves is a danger hardly worth courting.¹⁶

Nicolas-Germain Léonard, who was born in Guadeloupe, came into personal contact with Negro slavery during a trip to the Antilles. His disgust is eloquently expressed in prose¹⁷ and verse; in *Les Saisons . . . imité de Thompson* [sic], published in 1787,

¹⁴ Paris, 1779 (12mo ed.), I, 109. (*Avril, chant II*°).

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 109-110.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 158-172.

¹⁷ See his *Lettre sur un voyage aux Antilles*, in *Œuvres de Léonard*, Paris, 1797, I, 199-203.

Léonard devotes nineteen lines to slavery, some of which are apparently modelled after *The Seasons* [*vide supra*]:

N'avons-nous pas osé, dans ces îles heureuses
Où Pan faisait danser les Nymphes amoureuses,
Bannir l'Américain de ses champs paternels?
Eh! de quel droit encor l'innocente Guinée,
A nous livrer ses fils est-elle condamnée? . . .
L'Amour voluptueux qui jouait sur des fleurs,
S'envole au bruit des fouets et des cris de douleurs:
A force de travaux, de peines, de supplices,
On leur fait un enfer de ces lieux de délices. . . ¹⁸
La terre s'en indigne; et l'affreux ouragan
Engloutit à la fois l'esclave et le tyran. ¹⁹

To the poems of André Chénier in which Miss Cameron traces influences of Thomson, I would add his posthumous *La République de lettres*. In this poem we read of the greedy trader whose

. . . hardis vaisseaux, déjà loin de nos ports,
Vont de l'Inde à vil prix acheter les trésors;
Ou pour lui l'Amérique, à nos mœurs façonnée
Ravit les noirs enfants de la triste Guinée. ²⁰

The last line is clearly Thomson's

Which spoils unhappy Guinea of her sons.

Chénier's feeling on the slavery question is discovered, also, among the prose fragments of the poem *L'Amérique*, in which the description of the tropics was probably influenced by *The Seasons*. ²¹

O postérité! . . . Tu lis avec effroi que des hommes blancs vont acheter des hommes noirs et les plongent vivants dans les mines d'Amérique . . . tu lis qu'ils dépendent du plus vain caprice d'un maître imbécile, féroce

¹⁸ This contrast between exotic charm and the horrors of slavery recalls a remark made in 1773 by another creole poet, Evariste Parry, in an epistolary poem addressed to his brother from Rio de Janeiro: "Ce pays-ci est un paradis terrestre; la terre y produit abondamment les fruits de tous les climats; l'air y est sain; les mines d'or et de pierreries y sont très nombreuses: mais à tous ces avantages il en manque un, qui seul peut donner du prix aux autres, c'est la liberté: tout est ici dans l'esclavage . . ." (*Œuvres d'Evariste Parry*, Paris, 1808, I, 216-217).

¹⁹ *Op. cit.*, II, 77, 78. Italics mine.

²⁰ *Œuvres complètes de André Chénier*, ed. Dimoff, Paris, n. d., II, 233.

²¹ Cameron, *op. cit.*, pp. 83-85.

et doué d'une âme de vil esclave . . . que pour la plus légère faute ils sont déchirés de coups de fouet . . . que les femmes se distinguent par leur cruauté à commander et à regarder les horribles spectacles. . .

O barbares Européens, vous faites tant d'institutions inutiles . . . (V. Montesq.) Vos livres parlent tant d'humanité. Cœurs pitoyables, vous ne connaissez pas la pitié de loin. Vous osez vous enrichir du fruit de ces horreurs. Vous n'avez aucune honte. Vous ne tremblez pas à l'idée des malédictions de la postérité qui vous attendent. . .

L'âme de Colomb peut dire cela.²²

During the decade following the reestablishment of slavery in 1802, at least four poets—all of them influenced to some degree by Thomson—continued to keep faith with the humanitarian ideals of their predecessors who had contributed to the abolition sentiment that triumphed temporarily in 1794.

Jacques Delille, author of *Les Jardins* and *L'Homme des champs*, recalls in a later poem, *La Pitié* (1802), the recent slave revolts in Santo Domingo:

Tairai-je ces enfants de la rive africaine,
Qui cultivent pour nous la terre américaine?
Différents de couleur, ils ont les mêmes droits;
Vous-mêmes contre vous les armez de vos lois. . . .
O champs de Saint-Domingue! ô scènes exécrables!
Ah! fuyez, sauvez-vous, familles déplorables!
Les tigres sont lancés; du soleil africain
Tous les feux à-la-fois bouillonnent dans leur sein. . . .
Quelle cause a produit ces fléaux désastreux?
Quelques abus des droits que vous aviez sur eux.²³
Leur haine s'en souvient; et la noire imposture
Dans leurs cœurs ulcérés vint aigrir cette injure.²⁴

In *Chant II*^e of his *Géorgiques françaises*,²⁵ Rougier de La Bergerie refers to the suffering of Peruvian and Mexican slaves who are forced to mine gold for their European masters under intolerable conditions. Although he cites La Condamine's opinion, that "il n'a vu nulle part l'homme dans un état plus abject et plus misérable que dans les mines du Pérou," La Bergerie's criticism of this aspect of slavery is antedated by that of Las Casas in the

²² *Op. cit.*, II, 100-101.

²³ The unfortunate conflict of thought between this line and the third line of the quotation was noted by Dupuy des Islets, in his *Examen critique du poème de La Pitié de J. D.* . . . , Paris, 1803, pp. 122-123.

²⁴ *La Pitié*, poème, Paris, 1822, pp. 33-35.

²⁵ Paris, 1804, I, 48-49, and note 7.

sixteenth century, as well as Roucher, Raynal, Marmontel, Voltaire and others in his own time.

Ecouchard Le Brun, who may be considered a follower of Thomson in his fragmentary poem *La Nature*, approaches the subject of slavery in the same vein in an ode, *Contre le Luxe*, published in 1811. Nature, speaking, says:

Je cachais donc en vain l'Or au fond des Abîmes!
 Vous vous précipitez dans ces Gouffres pervers;
 Et des Sources de l'Or jaillissent tous les Crimes
 Dont vous inondez l'Univers.

Turning to Negro slavery, he continues:

Le Niger a vendu ses Fils et son Rivage
 A vos Brigands d'Europe! et, si nous les croyons,
 Flambeau sacré du Jour, cet indigne esclavage
 Est le Crime de tes rayons! ²⁰

While it was commonly believed at this time that the color of the Negro was caused by the sun's rays, it is nevertheless possible to see a resemblance between Le Brun's reproach to the sun, and these lines of Thomson:

... The parent sun himself
 Seems o'er this world of slaves to tyrannize,
 And, with oppressive ray the roseate bloom
 Of beauty blasting, gives the gloomy hue
 And features gross—or, worse, to ruthless deeds,
 Mad jealousy, blind rage, and fell revenge
 Their fervid spirit fires. . . .

Summer, ll. 884-890.

Sometime during the first decade and a half of the nineteenth century, Millevoye wrote a touching poem called *Le pauvre Nègre*.

Ravi naguère aux côtes de Guinée,
 Le pauvre Nègre, accablé de ses maux,
 Pleurait un jour sa triste destinée. . . .

The Negro had been snatched by his captors from a happy land, a loving wife, and an unborn child. One day he meets a slave newly arrived from his former home.

'De ma Nelzi, frère, quelle nouvelle?'
 L'autre se tait, mais il montre les cieux.
 'Je t'entends: morte. Et l'enfant?—Mort comme elle.
 —Bien.' Et la joie éclata dans ses yeux.

²⁰ *Œuvres de Le Brun*, Paris, 1811, I, 313-314.

Deux jours entiers, jetant sa nourriture,
 Il haleta sous un ciel embrasé;
 Et, du matin jusqu'à la nuit obscure,
 De ses sueurs le sol fut arrosé.
 Vers le retour de la troisième aurore,
 La verge en main, le maître reparut:
 'Lève-toi!—Non; je puis dormir encore;
 Je deviens libre.' Et sur l'heure il mourut.²⁷

The contribution of the earlier poets discussed above to humanitarian thought confirms my conclusion reached in a study of Evariste Parny,²⁸ that "it seems pertinent . . . to suggest a serious qualification of the idea that in eighteenth century French poetry 'aucune œuvre [excepting Voltaire's] ne compte dans l'histoire de la pensée.'" ²⁹ Of significance also are the poets who, following the slave revolts at the end of that century, refused to accept the rampant disillusion expressed by Chateaubriand in his *Génie du christianisme* (Book IV, ch. vii): ". . . qui oseroit encore plaider la cause des noirs, après les crimes qu'ils ont commis?" They upheld the cause of abolition during the score of years that preceded Victor Hugo's first novel, *Bug-Jargal* (written in 1818), wherein the noble and heroic Negro became an established figure in French literature.

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LE PÈRE BOUHOURS ET LE TASSE

De tous les auteurs étrangers que le Père Bouhours mentionne au cours de ses ouvrages, c'est le Tasse auquel il revient le plus souvent, soit pour signaler ses défauts, soit pour citer de ses vers. A l'égard du poète italien il a une double attitude assez curieuse, mais qui n'est pas rare pendant l'époque classique. D'un côté, il fait les réserves habituelles sur les pointes, l'affectation et les jolieses qui déparent le poème national et chrétien du Tasse; de l'autre, il considère la *Jérusalem* comme un magasin de pensées élevées et de beaux vers, où l'homme de lettres cultivé peut puiser à pleines mains pour orner ses discours.

²⁷ *Œuvres de Millevoye*, Paris, Garnier, n. d., pp. 127-129.

²⁸ "Parny as an Opponent of Slavery," *MLN.*, XLIX (1934), 360-366.

²⁹ G. Lanson, *Histoire de la littérature française*, 22d ed., revised, Paris, n. d., p. 644.

La critique de Bouhours, dit son biographe G. Doncieux, est "purement dogmatique et non descriptive, sauf pour un joli morceau à propos du Tasse."¹ Ce morceau se trouve dans les *Entretiens d'Ariste et d'Eugène* (1671), qui eurent dix éditions ou réimpressions en vingt ans:

Je vous assure, dit Eugene, que le Tasse n'est pas toujours le plus raisonnable du monde. A la vérité on ne peut pas avoir plus de genie qu'il en a. Ses imaginations sont nobles & agreables; ses sentimens sont forts ou delicats, selon que le sujet le demande; ses passions sont bien touchées & bien conduites; toutes ses descriptions sont merveilleuses: mais son genie l'emporte quelquefois trop loin; il est trop fleuri en quelques endroits, il badine dans les rencontres assez serieuses; il ne garde pas aussi exactement que Virgile, toutes les bienséances des mœurs. Il a de si grandes beautéz, repartit Ariste, qu'on peut bien luy pardonner ces petites taches. S'il manque un peu de ce bon sens, qui distingue Virgile des autres Poëtes; il a beaucoup de ce beau feu qui fait les Poëtes. Après tout, quelque liberté qu'il se donne, il ne s'égare pas comme le Marin, ni comme l'Arioste.²

Bouhours reprend la question dans la *Manière de bien penser dans les ouvrages d'esprit* (1687). Ce sont Eudoxe et Philante qui parlent. Eudoxe aime ce qui est naturel et raisonnable, il préfère les Anciens. Philante est charmé de tout ce qui est fleuri, de tout ce qui brille. "Il est si entêté de la *Gierusalemme liberata*, qu'il la préfère sans façon à l'Iliade et à l'Enéide. A cela près il a de l'esprit. . . ." Dans les discussions sur le Tasse dans ce livre c'est généralement Eudoxe qui a le dernier mot. Il trouve que le récit de la mort d'Argant manque de vraisemblance,³ il avoue que le poème contient des pensées exprimées d'une manière noble et sublime et que ses héros ont des sentiments fort relevés,⁴ mais il préfère l'*Enéide* "qui n'a rien dans les pensées que de noble & de régulier."⁵ Il blâme l'affectation dans le portrait de Sophronie, dans l'adieu d'Armide à Renaud, et surtout dans l'*Aminta*.⁶

Les Poëtes Italiens ne sont guère naturels, ils fardent tout, & le Tasse par ce seul endroit est bien au dessous de Virgile. . . . Le Tasse qui est un si beau genie, tient un peu du caractère des femmes coquettes, qui

¹ Georges Doncieux, *Un Jésuite homme de lettres au dix-septième siècle, Le Père Bouhours*, Paris, Hachette, 1866, p. 245.

² *Entretiens*, édition d'Amsterdam, 1691, pp. 207-208.

³ *Manière*, troisième édition, Amsterdam, 1705, p. 15.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 105.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 114.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 266, 269, 333.

mettent du fard, quelque belles qu'elles soient. . . . Je ne parle pas du Marin. . . . Je parle du Prince de la Poésie Italienne, & je soutiens que le Tasse est en mille endroits plus agréable qu'il ne faut. . . . Il badine quelquefois, même dans les sujets tristes, & raffine dans les occasions où le raffinement est fort mauvais.⁷

Bouhours revient à la charge dans ses *Pensées ingénieuses des Anciens et des Modernes* (1689), où il critique le portrait d'Armide dans le camp chrétien et certains vers du combat entre Tancred et Argant.⁸

Ces critiques du père jésuite contre le Tasse sont, en somme, bien fondées et ne diffèrent guère de celles faites par Chapelain ou même par Boileau.⁹ Bouhours était d'accord avec la plupart des critiques ses contemporains pour condamner les "extravagances italiennes" et le "clinquant du Tasse" en faveur du "bon sens" de Virgile et de l'âge de Louis XIV. Il y avait danger que les faiseurs de poèmes épiques français fussent tentés d'imiter les côtés jolis de l'épopée italienne, et le style français ne le permettait pas, selon Bouhours.

La langue Italienne est une coquette toujours parée & toujours fardée, qui ne cherche qu'à plaire, & qui se plaît beaucoup à la bagatelle. La langue Française est une prude; mais une prude agréable. . . .¹⁰

Mais le révérend père, tout en faisant officiellement ces critiques, éprouvait un charme secret et irrésistible à fréquenter cette coquette parée dans les vers du Tasse. Il semble avoir lu et relu le poème, il le connaît à fond et il prend plaisir à le citer à tout bout de champ. Dans l'entretien sur *La Mer* il reproduit à cinq reprises des vers du Tasse, citant plusieurs fois de mémoire, et incorrectement.¹¹ Dans le dialogue de *La Langue française*, il compare cette langue à une reine "laquelle a dans toute sa personne je ne sçay

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 268, 269, 334, 345. Cf. aussi pp. 348, 371, 380, 381. On sait qu'une traduction italienne de la *Manière de bien penser* donna lieu à une querelle littéraire franco-italienne. Cf. F. Foffano, *Ricerche letterarie*, Livorno, 1897 et A. Boeri, *Una contesa letteraria franco-italiana*, Palermo, 1900. Je n'ai pu voir ce dernier ouvrage.

⁸ *Pensées ingénieuses*, édition de la Haye, 1721, pp. 6, 22-23 (où il cite Méré).

⁹ Cf. R. Bray, *La Formation de la doctrine classique en France*, Paris, Hachette, 1927, pp. 187-188.

¹⁰ *Entretiens*, p. 75.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 10, 13, 18, 33.

quel air majestueux, qui la fait toujours paroître ce qu'elle est, quelque habit qu'elle porte, & quelque action qu'elle fasse." Il recourt à la "coquette parée et fardée" pour compléter sa description de la reine "prude agréable":

Non copre habito vil la nobil luce,
E quanto è in lei d'altero e di gentile:
E fuor la maestà regia traluce
Per gli atti ancor de l'essercito humile.¹²

La langue française "ne se pare qu'autant que la nécessité & la bienséance le demandent.

D'alta beltà, ma sua beltà non cura;
O tanto sol quant'honestà s'infregi."¹³

Le *Bel esprit*, tel que le décrit Bouhours, pour avoir beaucoup de force, n'en a pas moins de délicatesse: "Il ressemble à l'Achille d'Homère, & au Renaud du Tasse, qui avoient des nerfs, & des muscles extrêmement forts sous une peau blanche & delicate. . . ." Ou encore, "un bel esprit doit à mon avis, garder le temperament de la Sophronie du Tasse, qui étoit également belle et modeste,

Non copri sue bellezze, e non l'espose."¹⁴

Dans le même entretien Bouhours paie un tribut d'éloges à son ami le comte de Saint-Pol: "Il y a long tems que je l'ay comparé au Renaud du Tasse, & que je luy ay appliqué ces quatre vers comme par un esprit de prophetie.

L'età precorse, e la speranza; e presti
Pareano i fior, quando n'usciro frutti:
Se 'l miri fulminar frà l'arme avvolto
Marte lo stimi; Amor, se scopre il volto."¹⁵

En parlant du *Je ne sçay quoy*, Bouhours cite six exemples du *non so che* italien, dont cinq sont pris dans le Tasse.¹⁶ Encore

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 48. Cf. *Ger. lib.*, VII, 18; c'est Herminie habillée en bergère et occupée aux exercices de la vie champêtre.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 61. Cf. *Ger. lib.*, II, 14.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 215. Ce vers est cité encore dans les *Pensées ingénieuses*, p. 141.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 240. La phrase de Bouhours se rapporte vraisemblablement à la première édition des *Entretiens* où, en réalité, il n'avait cité que les deux derniers vers du passage du Tasse.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 253-254.

deux citations viennent sous sa plume dans le même dialogue.¹⁷ Dans celui des *Devises*, il mentionne une invention à lui: un Soleil dans sa course, avec ce vers du Tasse:

Rapido sì, ma rapido con legge,

et propose une devise hypothétique avec les mots:

Dentro hai le fiamme e fuori il pianto.¹⁸

La *Manière de bien penser*, tout en critiquant sévèrement le Tasse, déclare que "sa *Gierusalemme* est pleine de pensées sublimes, & il ne faut que l'ouvrir pour en trouver tant qu'on veut," et en cite une dizaine d'exemples.¹⁹ Les *Pensées ingénieuses* en donnent d'autres, que l'auteur avait recueillies pour les faire entrer dans la *Manière* sans y avoir trouvé leur place. "Ce sont des Diamans, qui ont leur prix, mais qu'on n'a point enchassés."²⁰ Même dans les *Doutes sur la langue françoise* (1674), Bouhours a trouvé moyen de renvoyer une fois au Tasse.²¹

Il n'y a aucun auteur ancien ou moderne que Bouhours cite aussi fréquemment ou avec autant de plaisir évident que le Tasse. Tout en le condamnant, il l'adore. Et cela est vrai aussi, à différents degrés, pour ses contemporains. Même si l'on n'approuvait pas la *Gerusalemme* comme un modèle parfait de poème national, il était de bon ton, après Boileau comme avant, de le connaître et d'avoir ses plus beaux vers au bout de la langue. Le chevalier de Méré a parfaitement exprimé cette opinion, en écrivant à une dame:

Vous parlez simplement, vous ne dites ny de beaux mots ny de belles choses. . . . Vous n'avez que peu de commerce avec les beaux esprits, et vous ne citez ny le Tasse ny l'Arioste. Pensez-vous qu'avec cette indifférence on puisse faire admirer son esprit?²²

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¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 260.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 388, 296; cf. *Ger. lib.*, III, 2 et XII, 96.

¹⁹ *Manière*, pp. 99-109.

²⁰ *Pensées ingénieuses, Avertissement* et pp. 40, 79-80, 89, 141, 158, 176, 209, 306, 323.

²¹ Edition de 1675, p. 241.

²² Méré, *Discours de l'Esprit, Œuvres complètes*, éd. Boudhors, Paris, Editions Fernand Roches, 1930, t. II, p. 58. Voir pour un exemple de la même attitude dans la première partie du siècle, mon article sur "Guez de Balzac and Tasso," *MLN.*, mai 1934.

SOME JUDGMENTS OF VOLTAIRE BY
CONTEMPORARIES

After Voltaire's death in 1778, it became popular to write plays dealing with his arrival and judgment in the afterworld. In the year 1779 there appeared four plays based on this subject. 1) *Les Muses rivales* by M. de la Harpe depicted the Muses fighting for the right to present Voltaire to Apollo, each claiming the privilege because Voltaire was her favorite. 2) *La Vengeance de Pluton, ou Suite des Muses rivales* by Palmézeaux portrayed Pluto, angry with Apollo for having taken Voltaire, getting revenge by killing Apollo's favorites on earth. 3) *Les Muses véridiques*, according to Brunet by Mullet, is exactly the opposite of the *Muses rivales*. It showed the Muses visibly perturbed by the impending arrival of Voltaire, offering Voltaire to each other as they explain how he betrayed them on earth, until Melpomene finally agrees to sponsor him. Voltaire is given his place in the Temple of Memory, below Racine, below Corneille, beside Crébillon, while Fréron, seated among the good critics, looks on. 4) *L'Ombre de Voltaire aux Champs-Élysées* attributed to Moline is an exorbitant eulogy of Voltaire, ending with the presentation by Sophocles, Sappho, Anacreon and Homer of their choicest gifts and Voltaire's coronation by Apollo.

It can readily be seen that these plays, biased as they are, cannot be accepted as accurate appraisals of Voltaire. They err by being either too favorable or too critical. But simultaneously with them there circulated another shorter literary form, the dialogue. In a small 14-page pamphlet, entitled *Dialogue entre Voltaire et Rousseau, après leur passage du Styx*, published in Geneva in 1778, is to be found a very interesting portrait of Voltaire, remarkable for the accuracy of its judgment. The unknown contemporary author wrote the dialogue in order to show that Rousseau and Voltaire, on meeting after death, were at once reconciled. After a discussion of their work, in which Voltaire points out that he and Rousseau in reality did not differ except "par la bizarrerie de vos paradoxes, la singularité de vos pensées, et le caractère original de vos expressions," Voltaire admits that he was too vain, Rousseau too proud, and concludes "Soyons amis, Rousseau, c'est moi qui t'en convie."

Having finished the dialogue, the unknown author offers on the last page the following *Portrait d'Arouet de Voltaire*:

Avare au sein des richesses, indigné contre les Critiques, comblé des louanges de l'Europe, poursuivi par les Loix, adoré par les Juges, honoré par les Souverains, même en éprouvant leur disgrâce; Poète et Prosateur hardi et heureux, il eut plus de connoissances que de justesse, plus de brillant que de mérite solide, moins de science que de goût, plus d'adresse que de prudence, plus de gloire que d'estime; enfin, personne ne fut son égal, quoique parmi les Anciens et les Modernes il ait eu son supérieur dans tous les genres de la Littérature: son imagination fut la rivale du Génie.

In contrast to the excessive judgments, both favorable and unfavorable, of the plays written about Voltaire shortly after his death, we are grateful for this succinct but exceedingly accurate estimate, which shows that Voltaire's real reputation was intelligently appraised by an unbiased contemporary.

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CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS TO BENGESCO'S BIBLIOGRAPHIE

1. *Dialogues entre un Bracmane et un Jésuite.*

Contrary to Moland, Bengesco and others, this work did not appear for the first time in 1756. It appeared in the ephemeral publication, *l'Abeille du Parnasse*, of Berlin, in the issue for "5 février 1752."

2. *Poèmes sur la religion naturelle et sur la destruction de Lisbonne. Par M. de V * * *. 1756. (47 pp.)*

3. *Lettres chinoises, indiennes et tartares à M. Paw par un Bénédictin. Avec plusieurs autres pièces intéressantes. Paris, 1776. (182 pp. of text plus title page and table of contents.)*

4. *La Henriade, Londres, 1727.*

This edition is mentioned in the preface to the *Oeuvres diverses de M. de Voltaire*, Londres, Nourse, 1746. A marginal note in the Bibliothèque nationale copy of Moland says the edition has a beginning quite different from the Moland variant.

6. *La Henriade, avec les variantes et un essai sur la poésie épique.*

Amsterdam, Fr. l'Honoré, 1756, 2 vols. in -12.

6. *La Henriade, avec les variantes et un essai sur la poésie épique. Nouvelle édition revue et corrigée.* Amsterdam, Richoff, 1769, in-12.
7. *La Henriade, en dix chants avec la dissertation sur la mort d'Henri IV.* Evreux, Ancelle, 1784, in-12.
8. *La Pucelle d'Orléans. Poème divisé en quinze livres. Par Monsieur de V * * *. Nouvelle édition plus correcte que la précédente. Augmenté d'un épître du père Guibourdon à Monsieur de Voltaire,* Louvain, 1756.
9. *Prix de la justice et de l'humanité,* Londres, 1777.
10. *Catéchisme de l'honnête homme ou dialogue entre un caloyer et un homme de bien. Traduit du grec vulgaire par D. J. J. R. C. D. C. D. G.* Paris, 1758, in-8.
11. *Epître à l'auteur du nouveau livre des trois imposteurs par M. de Voltaire.* Berlin, 1769, in-8.
12. *Le Micromégas de M. de Voltaire,* à Londres, 1752.
13. *Histoire de Charles XII, roy de Suède. Huitième édition de Christophe Revis, plus ample et plus correcte que les précédentes, augmentée des critiques de La Motraye et des réponses à ces critiques.* Basle, Revis, 1736.
14. *Lettre sur Mlle de l'Enclos.*

Bengesco says (II, 58): Ce morceau est imprimé dans le tome III des *Nouveaux Mélanges* (1765, pp. 1-14) . . . Nous croyons qu'il a été composé en 1751. . . . This surmise proves correct as the work is found in the *Petit Réservoir*, volume IV, for 1751.

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LA NOCHEBUENA DE 1836 Y SU MODELO HORACIANO

No se han señalado hasta ahora, que yo sepa, las relaciones existentes entre éste, uno de los más representativos artículos de Larra, y aquella sátira de Horacio—la 7ª del Libro II—en la cual Davo, esclavo del propio Horacio, se encara con su amo, y valiéndose de la libertad de expresión otorgada a los esclavos durante las saturnales, hace con toda impunidad una crítica despiadada del carácter y costumbres del poeta.

Empecemos por anotar los puntos más visiblemente en común entre las dos composiciones:

1. El marco y escenario del mes de diciembre, con el recuerdo concreto del tema latino: "Me acordé de que en sus famosas saturnales los romanos trocaban los papeles y los esclavos podían decir la verdad a sus amos."¹ (Cl. Cast. pág. 331, 20.)

2. Recriminaciones del sirviente a su amo, las cuales por formar el asunto principal del diálogo, aparecen constantemente tanto en el poema como en el artículo.

3. Soledad moral y descontento de sí mismo: "Resuelto a no moverme porque tuviera que hacerlo todo la suerte este mes, incliné la frente, cargada como el cielo, de nubes frías, etc." (Id. pág. 330, 4-28.) Y más adelante en la reconvención del criado: "¿Por qué te vuelves y te revuelves en tu mullido lecho como un criminal acostado con su remordimiento, etc."² (Id. pág. 337, 21.)

4. Seducción o adulterio: "Verdad es que la justicia no prende sino a los pequeños criminales . . . pero a los que arrebatan el sosiego de una familia seduciendo a la mujer casada o a la hija honesta etc."³ (pág. 338, 4-26.)

5. Inconsecuencia en costumbres y principios: "Los hombres

¹ En la sátira de Horacio, Davo solicita permiso de su amo para decir unas palabras; Horacio, siguiendo la antigua tradición romana, se lo concede inmediatamente. Versos 1-5. (Considero poco conveniente y hasta superfluo el citar del texto latino, ya que las relaciones que estudiamos son de contenido y no de estilo. De aquí en adelante me referiré en llamada a los versos del original latino, citando a continuación de la traducción castellana de Don Javier de Burgos: *Las Poesías de Horacio*, Madrid, 1820-23. Creo justificable este procedimiento por dos razones: la edición de Don Javier de Burgos era considerada la mayor autoridad en la materia, y Larra, que no era precisamente un latinista, debió de consultarla con preferencia a cualquier otra.)

² Versos 111-115. En la traducción de Burgos: "Añadiré que los ocios Aprovechar no sabiendo, Ni una hora á solas con vos Podeis nunca manteneros, Y sin cesar, de vos mismo Como un desertor huyendo, Solo tratais de ahogar La zozobra en vino ó sueño: En vano, pues siempre os sigue Tan terrible compañero." (Ed. cit. t. 3, págs. 465 y 467.)

³ Versos 46-74. En la traducción de Burgos: "Mas vos, cuando abandonando Anillo de caballero, Y toga de ciudadano, Y de juez trage y respeto, Envolvéis vuestra cabeza En un capuchon de siervo. ¿No venís, cual parecéis, A ser un siervo en efecto? Al cuarto entraís de la dama, Pero temblándoos los huesos, Pues dentro de vos combaten Juntos temor y deseo . . . Sobre vos tiene el marido Igual y aun mayor derecho Que en su muger, pues que sois Vos su corruptor perverso." (t. 3, págs. 457 y 459.)

de mundo os llamáis hombres de honor y de carácter, y a cada suceso nuevo cambiáis de opinión, apostatáis de vuestros principios.”⁴ (pág. 340, 4-11.)

6. Adulación al poderoso: “Adulas a tus lectores para ser de ellos adulado. . . .”⁵

7. Lujo desenfrenado en el servicio de la mesa: “. . . acaso tendrás que someterte mañana a un usurero para un cápricho innecesario, porque vosotros tragáis oro, o para un banquete de vanidad en que cada bocado es un tósigo.”⁶ (pág. 340, 18-22.)

8. Contraste entre el erotismo del sirviente y el del amo: “Cuando yo necesito de mujeres, echo mano de mi salario, y las encuentro, fieles por más de un cuarto de hora; tú echas mano de tu corazón, y vas y lo arrojas a los pies de la primera que pasa, etc.”⁷ (pág. 340, 27-pág. 341, 8.)

9. Rebelión moral del sirviente ante su señor: “Tú me mandas pero no te mandas a tí mismo . . . Yo estoy ebrio de vino, es verdad; pero tú lo estás de deseos y de impotencia.”⁸ (pág. 341, 19.)

⁴ Versos 6-42. En la traducción de Burgos: “Siempre encarecer os veo Vida y costumbres de antaño; Mas no aceptárais el trueco, Si quisiera trasladaros Algun dios á aquellos tiempos . . . Deseais en Roma el campo; E inconsecuente y ligero, Cuando en el campo os hallais, Poneis á Roma en el cielo. etc.” (t. 3, págs. 453 y 455.)

⁵ Versos 30-42. En la sátira de Horacio, la adulación se refiere implícitamente a Mecenas.

⁶ Versos 102-111. En la traducción de Burgos: “De los continuos excesos Castigo es la indigestion, Y los pies endebles luego Rehusan llevar la carga Del mal humorado cuerpo. Delinque quien da por frutas Algun chismecillo viejo Que substrajo; y el que vende Sus haciendas á ruin precio, Por satisfacer su gula, ¿Delinquirá mucho menos?” (t. 3, pág. 465.)

⁷ Versos 46-74 y 88-94. En la traducción de Burgos: “. . . Cuando siento Los impulsos del amor, A una casa de esas entro; Allí conversacion trabo Con la primera que veo; Cuando despacho, desfilo, Sin temer que mi concepto Tal aventura mancille, Ni me atormente el recelo, De que luego á la tal moza Haga otro iguales obsequios.” (t. 3, pág. 457.) “Os pide cierta querida Dos mil y quinientos pesos, Y despues rabiardos hace, Os cierra la puerta al veros, Echa agua por las ventanas, Y luego os llama de nuevo . . . ‘Libre soy, decid, soy libre.’ Mas no será, porque fiero Vuestra alma un tirano oprime, etc.” (*id.*, pág. 463.)

⁸ Versos 75-82. En la traducción de Burgos: “Y; qué! ¿vos sereis mi dueño, Cuando asi de hombres y cosas Os sometéis al imperio; . . .

Todos estos elementos en común se nos presentan considerablemente elaborados—aunque desde distintos puntos de vista—en ambas composiciones. Adviértanse, ahora, dos rasgos más, de escasa importancia en el poema latino, y a los cuales da Larra un desarrollo dramático independiente.

10. Glotonería y embriaguez del sirviente.⁹

11. Hipocresía. Disfraz de bellas palabras: “. . . inventas palabras y haces de ellas sentimientos, ciencias, artes, objetos de existencia . . . Y cuando descubres que son palabras, blasfemas y maldices.”¹⁰ (pág. 341, 10-14.)

Añádase, todavía—y presento este punto sólo a manera de conjetura—un posible paralelismo entre el pasaje referente a la función teatral a la que asiste el autor en su capacidad de crítico profesional, y aquel pasaje de la sátira en que Horacio contempla—igualmente en actitud crítica—las pinturas de Pausias.¹¹

Y, por último, otra semejanza más, ésta de orden estilístico. El diálogo entre amo y sirviente, a poco de empezar queda en suspenso en ambas composiciones; y aunque sólo escuchamos una voz, la del sirviente, se hace sentir dramáticamente la presencia del personaje que no habla.

Los puntos en común entre las dos obras son, pues, tan numerosos y tan concretos, que habremos de concluir, no sólo que se trata de una imitación directa, sino que Larra se guiaba por una lectura reciente de la sátira horaciana y no por vagos recuerdos de lejanas lecturas.

Ahora bien, ¿habrá imposibilidad alguna de admitir una imitación directa dada la estética de Larra? Sin duda, no. Recuérdese

Y¿ qué soy yo con respecto A vos? Vos en mi mandais, Pero en vos mandan doscientos, Que os mueven cual sus figuras Mueven los titiriteros.” (t. 3, pág. 461.)

⁹ Versos 38-39 y 102-104. En la traducción de Burgos: “En buen hora otros me digan Que soy tambien glotonzuelo; Que al olor de un plato rico . . . Que las tabernas frecuento.” Y luego: “Si de un pastel calentito Con el olor me consuelo, Yo soy un gloton. . .” (t. 3, págs. 455-457, 465.)

¹⁰ Versos 41-42. En la traducción de Burgos: “Mas con brillantes palabras Vuestras faltas encubriendo. . .” (t. 3, pág. 457.)

¹¹ Versos 95-102. En la traducción de Burgos: “Cuando arrobado ó suspenso Mirais un cuadro de Pausias . . . De cosa de antigüedades Entiende que es un portento.” (t. 3, págs. 463 y 465.)

especialmente su teoría del *artículo robado*, detalladamente expuesta en la nota preliminar a *El pobrecito hablador*: "Siendo nuestro objeto divertir por cualquier medio, cuando no se le ocurra a nuestra pobre imaginación nada que nos parezca suficiente o satisfactorio, declaramos francamente que robaremos donde podamos nuestros materiales, publicándolos íntegros o mutilados, traducidos, arreglados o refundidos, citando la fuente, o apropiándonoslos descaradamente, porque como pobres habladores hablamos lo nuestro y lo ajeno, seguros de que al público lo que le importa en lo que se le da impreso no es el nombre del escritor, sino la calidad del escrito, y de que vale más divertir con cosas ajenas que fastidiar con las propias."¹²

Dos tipos principales de imitación se encuentran en Larra, y los resultados no pueden ser más opuestos. Cuando Larra se enfrenta con un modelo literario, expresión de una modalidad estética demasiado particularista, su trabajo resulta artísticamente estéril. Sirva como ejemplo *El Doncel de Don Enrique*, el cual se mueve dentro de la órbita estética trazada por la novelística de Walter Scott. Por el contrario, cuando su modelo excluye la posibilidad de una imitación puramente artística y formal, o bien por lo imperfecto y nada exclusivo de su estilo (Jouy), o bien por hallarse a gran distancia de las preocupaciones y modas literarias del momento, como ocurre con los temas clásicos, entonces Larra, al revitalizar el tema en términos de su propia experiencia, crea una obra de poderosa originalidad. La imitación le ha servido únicamente de punto de partida.

Este segundo caso es el de *La Nochebuena de 1836*. La paradoja estoica "sólo el sabio es libre," idea central de la sátira horaciana, queda aquí desplazada por un tema de sentido vital y subjetivo: pesimismo romántico. Y lo que en Horacio constituye una sobria y elegante lección de filosofía moral, en Larra es ya febril y doloroso autoanálisis, lírico gemido de desesperación.

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¹² Toda la nota es de gran interés para el estudio de la imitación literaria en Larra.

BAUDELAIRE AND *MONSTRUM HORRENDUM*,
INFORME, INGENS

Baudelaire's *Hymne à la Beauté*, line 22, reads: "O Beauté! monstre énorme, effrayant, ingénu." I do not recall having seen any comment on the sources of this. Virgil, in the *Aeneid*, III, line 658, a famous line, describes Polyphemus as: "*Monstrum horrendum, informe, ingens, cui lumen ademptum*." There are striking resemblances between Baudelaire's verse and the first part of Virgil's. *Monstrum* gives *monstre*; *horrendum* and *informe* suggest *effrayant*; *ingens* suggests *énorme* and also *ingénu*. It may seem a far cry from "la Beauté" to the monster Polyphemus. But given the fame of Virgil's line, the similarity of language and thought in the two passages, and Baudelaire's imp of perversity, which would make him delight in finding a "correspondance" between two such extremes, it is difficult to refrain from believing that the French poet had in mind the Latin poet's words when he wrote his own.

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PORTO-RICHE ET ROSTAND

A propos de Rostand bien des noms ont été cités, bien des "sources" ont été découvertes. On a évoqué entre autres Shakespeare, Hugo, Musset, Banville, Coppée. Il leur doit sans doute quelque chose à tous, il les a lus, et il n'a pas pu les oublier quand il écrivait. Mais pourquoi ne mentionne-t-on jamais le nom d'un auteur dont Rostand semble se souvenir plus souvent que de tous les autres réunis? A ma connaissance personne n'a jamais cité le nom de Porto-Riche.¹ Quoi! dira-t-on, Porto-Riche! Que peut-il avoir en commun avec Rostand? Quel rapport peut-il y avoir entre la fantaisie poétique de Rostand et le réalisme brutal de l'auteur d'*Amoureuse*?

¹ Dans sa récente thèse: "*Georges de Porto-Riche, sa vie, son œuvre*." Paris, Droz, 1934, Hendrick Brugmans ne cite pas Rostand quand il étudie "l'influence de Porto-Riche, sa place dans le mouvement dramatique qui prendra forme aux environs de 1895" (p. 234).

La réponse est simple : *Amoureuse*, *Le Passé*, *Le Vieil Homme* ont fait oublier les œuvres antérieures, et ce n'est pas sans surprise qu'on lit *Un drame sous Philippe II*, pièce toute nourrie de Hugo et Sardou, si inattendue sous la plume de Porto-Riche que Antoine lui-même, quand l'auteur, jeune encore, lui apportait sa *Chance de Françoise*, écrite seulement treize ans plus tard, le prenait pour le fils de l'auteur du *Drame sous Philippe II*. Qui se rappelle aujourd'hui *Les deux fautes* qui semblent un mauvais pastiche d'Alexandre Dumas fils ? Et qui se rappelle qu'entre sa première pièce vraiment portorichienne, *La Chance de Françoise*, et la pièce dont il voulait que le nom fût gravé sur sa tombe : *Amoureuse*, il avait fait jouer *L'Infidèle*, en vers, pièce publiée plus tard entre ces deux œuvres dans son "Théâtre d'Amour" ?

C'est en 1890 que Porto-Riche fait jouer au Théâtre d'Application *L'Infidèle* qui choque le public par ses crudités, mais qui remporte un gros succès, et qui sera repris six fois avant d'être reçu à la Comédie Française en 1923. En voici le sujet :

Vanina aime le poète Renato qui part pour accompagner en Espagne la filleule du Doge. Elle sent qu'elle a perdu son amour, et Lazzaro le peintre bohème conseille à Vanina de se venger de Renato en le trompant. Vanina veut retenir son amant par la jalousie et lui dit que tous les soirs un amoureux vient chanter sous sa fenêtre. Renato y vient la nuit et trouve Vanina déguisée en homme chantant sous sa propre fenêtre. Les épées se croisent, Renato tue Vanina avant de la reconnaître.

Cette fantaisie vénitienne semble bien oubliée aujourd'hui, mais il est impossible de la lire sans que des vers de Rostand vous viennent en foule à l'esprit : musique des *Romanesques*, visions méditerranéennes de *La Princesse Lointaine*, fantaisie pittoresque de *Cyrano*. N'avons-nous pas lu les vers qui suivent dans *Cyrano* ?

Hélas ! ta peine et ta beauté

Ont fait d'un puits de vin sortir la Vérité. (*L'Infidèle*, sc. 2)

J'avais dans mon pourpoint les sonnets de Ronsard,

Et la balle d'un gueux, hasard ou préférence,

Tomba sur les quatrains du poète de France.

Le soldat fut sauvé par un livre de vers. (sc. 3)

Voler un inconnu, c'est ne voler personne. (sc. 4)

Personne. Rien d'humain, hormis mon beau physique

Caresse par le flot, la lune et la musique. (sc. 6)

Quelquefois c'est un long passage qui rappelle—ou mieux, qui annonce—plusieurs "motifs" de *Cyrano* :

J'entreprends à minuit mon voyage pédestre,
 Suivi d'un échanton, précédé d'un orchestre.
 Car après chaque étape, aux accents d'un concert,
 Je boirai lentement, comme un vin de dessert,
 Le lacryma-christi que parmi mes commandes
 J'avais pris pour pousser quelques gâteaux d'amandes.

Vanina

L'as-tu payé, ce vin?

Lazzaro

Innocente! J'ai dit

Que j'étais amoureux et l'on m'a fait crédit. (sc. 5)

C'est du Rostand tout pur, moins la poésie.

N'est-ce pas des *Romanesques* que nous viennent ces vers:

Je pince volontiers un doux andantino,
 J'appris avec Henri de Valderrabano. (sc. 2)

Masque noir, grand manteau, rapière et mandoline. (sc. 8)

N'avons-nous pas comme un écho de *La Princesse Loïtaine* dans:

Ta galère est à l'ancre et les brises mutines
 Ne gonflent pas encore ses deux voiles latines. (sc. 3)

J'ai vu le galion ancré près du rivage;
 Vers minuit, tout à l'heure, il appareillera. (sc. 1)

La molle Adriatique est pure comme un lac;
 L'équipage pourra dormir sur le tillac.
 Et les oiseaux voiliers viendront par ribambelle
 Tourner autour des mâts. (sc. 1)

C'est le ton, c'est la couleur, si ce n'est pas le vers de Rostand, sans qu'on puisse cependant parler d'imitation. Mais il y a dans *L'Infidèle* de nombreux autres passages que Rostand semble vraiment avoir imités, consciemment ou non. C'est dans *Cyrano* que nous trouverons la plus grande partie de ces rappels:

Oh! qui me donnera des mots pour t'adorer?
 (*Inf.*, sc. 2)

dit Lazzaro à Vanina, et ce vers semble déclencher la grande tirade de *Cyrano* à Roxane qui lui demande:

Quels mots me direz-vous?
 Tous ceux, tous ceux, tous ceux
 Qui me viendront, je vais vous les jeter, en touffe,
 Sans les mettre en bouquet: je vous aime, j'étouffe,
 Je t'aime, je suis fou, . . . (*Cyr.*, III, 6)

et dans cette même scène du balcon une image gracieuse bien connue en rappelle une autre moins connue :

Un page, beau garçon,
Sous ma fenêtre, ici, murmure une chanson,
Qui monte jusqu'à moi, roulée en arabesque,
Pareille au liseron de ce balcon mauresque, (Inf., sc. 3)

dit Vanina . . . et Cyrano :

car j'ai senti, que tu le veuilles
Ou non, le tremblement adoré de ta main
Descendre tout le long des branches du jasmin. (Cyr., III, 6)

La scène 11 de l'acte III où Cyrano retient de Guiche à la porte de Roxane en lui racontant son voyage dans la lune est un développement du vers de Roxane :

Vous, *retenez* ici de Guiche ! Il va venir ! (Cyr., III, 6)

et aussi du vers de Renato :

Tu veux me *retenir*, conteuse de romans. (Inf., sc. 3)

Quelquefois c'est une rime :

Avant tout je suis pleutre.
Ne guettez pas ce soir la plume de mon feutre, (Inf., sc. 5)

dit Lazzaro, et la rime est familière à qui se rappelle la " Ballade du duel qu'en l'hôtel bourguignon Monsieur de Bergerac eut avec un bélièvre." Quelquefois c'est un hémistiche :

Je n'ai que du talent, le Tasse a du génie, (Inf., sc. 3)

dit Renato. Cyrano dira :

Molière a du génie et Christian était beau. (Cyr., V, 6)

Les souvenirs portorichiens apparaissent avant Cyrano : Le héros de *L'Infidèle*, Renato, est un poète comme Joffroy Rudel de *La Princesse Lointaine* (et Cyrano) ; et de même que Bertrand récitera à la Princesse les vers de son ami Rudel, pour attendrir celle-ci sur le sort du poète, Lazzaro récite à Vanina les vers de son ami Renato (Inf., sc. 2) précisément dans la même intention.

N'est-ce pas le sujet même de *La Princesse Lointaine* que nous trouvons dans ces vers de Lazzaro ?

Faire souffrir un homme, ah! c'est si bon, ma caille,
C'est si bon d'avilir un cerveau qui travaille,
De changer en ivrogne, en brute, en assassin
L'artiste qui viendra dormir sur votre sein! (Inf., sc. 2)

N'est-ce pas l'illustration de ces vers que nous trouvons dans le rôle de Mélissinde et dans sa tirade qui se termine par:

Quelle est celle de nous qui ne serait, enfin,
Heureuse de tenir en ses bras un Oreste
Dont le Pylade meurt, qui le sait,—et qui reste! (III, 6)

Et si nous remontons jusqu'aux *Romanesques*, ce vers de *L'Infidèle*:

Mais tu n'écoutes pas.
J'écoutais votre voix;
Le rossignol chantait et j'étais dans les bois, (Inf., sc. 2)

ne semble-t-il pas vraiment être le thème sur lequel Sylvette brodera ses tendres mots:

Oui, ces vers sont très beaux, et le divin murmure
Les accompagne bien, c'est vrai, de la ramure,
Et le décor leur sied, de ces ombrages verts;
Mais ce qui fait pour moi leur beauté plus touchante,
C'est que vous les lisez de votre voix qui chante.
(Rom. I, 1)

Plus loin dans la même pièce nous trouvons encore des images et des mots, plus banals il est vrai, groupés dans le même ordre que dans *L'Infidèle*: Vanina dit dans les tout premiers vers de la pièce:

Le jour meurt, Vénus monte à côté de Cynthia
Voici la nuit qui vient. (Inf., sc. 1)

Percinet dira:

Mon premier rendez-vous, le soir . . .
Oh! ce grand arbre, avec une étoile à son faite!
La nuit s'est faite. . . .
Les étoiles vont en nombre croissant
Tout autour, autour du grêle croissant
De la pâle lune! (Rom., I, 9)

Et enfin la première nuit d'amour de Vanina:

Renato: Oui, la nuit sera belle.
Vanina: Moins belle, ô Renato, que celle où Vanina,
En fuyant de Trieste, à vous s'abandonna!
Ce soir-là, notre barque errait toute argentée,
La lagune berçait Venise reflétée, (Inf., sc. 1)

n'est-elle pas une de celles auxquelles pense Straforel quand il nous décrit l'enlèvement romantique:

Vénitien, en gondole,—il faudrait la lagune!—
L'enlèvement avec ou sans le clair de lune. (Rom, I, 5)

Je m'arrête ici : toutes ces citations ne sont peut-être pas également frappantes : quelques-unes ne sont probablement pas des imitations, d'autres sont à peine des rencontres ; mais, si individuellement elles n'ont pas toutes la même valeur, le fait même qu'elles sont si nombreuses n'en reste pas moins assez impressionnant, surtout si l'on songe qu'elles sont toutes empruntées à une courte pièce, en un acte, qui semble contenir à elle seule autant de passages évoquant l'œuvre de Rostand que toutes les œuvres réunies de tous les auteurs toujours cités comme ses maîtres et modèles.² J'ajouterai que le vers de Porto-Riche est beaucoup plus voisin du vers de Rostand, qui bien entendu le parera de son lyrisme scintillant, que le vers des autres contemporains si souvent mentionnés. Et il se trouve que Porto-Riche, écrivain en prose, brutal et cynique, est probablement un des derniers auteurs que l'on penserait à rapprocher de Rostand.³

La rencontre de nos deux auteurs n'a d'ailleurs rien de surprenant : Rostand a certainement vu *L'Infidèle*, à la création, ou à une des nombreuses reprises, ne serait-ce qu'à celle de 1895, au Théâtre de la Renaissance, sous la direction de Sarah Bernhardt. N'oublions pas en effet que c'est à ce Théâtre, quelques semaines après cette reprise, que fût jouée pour la première fois *La Princesse Lointaine*, dans laquelle Sarah créait le rôle de Mélissinde. Quoi d'étonnant si nous entendons dans la *Princesse* et plus tard dans *Cyrano* quelques échos de *L'Infidèle* ?

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² Il est évidemment nourri de Musset et de Hugo, comme Porto-Riche d'ailleurs ; mais les passages directement inspirés sont en somme peu nombreux. A Banville, que l'on cite toujours, il est redevable en grande partie de la fantaisie de son vers, mais tout ce qu'il lui a emprunté se trouve dans son œuvre de jeunesse : *Les deux Pierrots*. A Coppée il semble avoir emprunté quelques passages surtout pour *Cyrano*, *L'Aiglon* et *Chantecler*.

³ " Mais la littérature dramatique de la seconde moitié, voire de la fin du XIXe siècle, n'a-t-elle pas puissamment contribué, elle aussi à la formation du talent de notre auteur ? Dumas fils, Augier et Sardou ? Puis Henry Becque et toute la comédie rosse ? Le Théâtre Libre et le théâtre de l'Œuvre ? . . . A la vérité tout cela semble n'avoir guère existé pour M. Rostand " (Jules Haraszti : *Edmond Rostand*, Paris, 1913, p. 77).

NEW SONGS OF THE REIGN OF HENRY VIII

The songs that follow, taken from MS. Ashmole 176 in the Bodleian Library, should be added to the not very extensive *corpus* of pieces by the courtiers and professional musicians of Henry VIII's court.¹

I

I can be wanton *and* yf I wyl, but yf youe touche me I wyll crye howe
 I can be merye *and* thinke no evell, but yet beware one cometh I trowe
 Yf any come in faith I crye, *that* all the strete my voyce shall heare
 take hede that no man doe youe espye, *and* I then warant youe come
 verye nye
 But yf youe come syt farre from me for me semeth youe should be wylde
 and by suche wanton men as youe be younge maydes are sometymes begyled
 I wilbe ware of suche lyke wylde men for when they touche me I doe
 crye howe

¹The contents of the MS. (a small pamphlet written in a hand of the second half of the 16th cent., in a volume of miscellaneous contents) is as follows: 1. "Yf care may cause mē crye whye doe I not cōplaine" (fol. 97^v). A copy, with many variations, of Surrey's poem in *Tottel's Miscellany* (ed. Rollins, I, 209). 2. An erotic song of six stanzas (fol. 98), beginning:

My Ladye hathe forsaken me that longe hathe bene her mā
 yet she her selfe retayned me and covenūt[sic] first beganne
 But nowe I haue espyed some other she hathe tryed
 Lustye and full of strength in Labor good at Lengthe

3. "vp I arose, in verno tempore, & found a mayd, sub quadā arbore" (fol. 98^v). Printed from MS. Add. 5665, fols. 145^v-146, in *Archiv*, CVI, 284.
 4. No. I, below (fol. 98^v). 5. "Let be wanton yor Busynes for in good faith youe are to blame" (fol. 98^v). An erotic song of two lines (or one stanza of four). 6-13. Nos. II-IX, below (fols. 99-100). 14. "Adew adewe my hartes lust" (fol. 100). By William Cornish. Printed from MS. Add. 31922, fols. 23^v-24, in *Anglia*, XII, 232. 15. No. x, below (fol. 100). 16. "Come over the borne bessye" (fol. 100). Printed from MS. 5665, fols. 143^v-4, by H. B. Briggs, *Madrigals by English Composers of the Close of the Fifteenth Century* (1893), no. 2; see also Rollins, *Analytical Index*, No. 587. 17. No. XI, below (fol. 100^v). Previously printed in Miss Helen Sandison's "Chanson d'Aventure" in *Middle English* (1913), pp. 100-101 (where "the" in l. 8 is omitted, and "which" is misprinted "With" in l. 13). 18. "Ravyshed was I that well was me" (fols. 100^v-101). A song on the Princess Mary's dancing with her father, printed in Wright and Halliwell, *Reliquæ Antiquæ*, I, 258.

kysse me ye should, I beshrewe me then by crist not for my mothers
blacke cowe

ye may me kyll as soone as kysse, I pray you awaie *and* let me be
in faith all the world wyll speake of this, I say ye play *the* foole with me

By god I strike youe with my fyste I shall make your cap fall on the flower
But for all that doe what youe Lyst, *and* I wilbe styll *and* crye howe
no more/

fynis/

II

Lost ys my Love farewell adewe lost ys my love farewell adewe
I see the prooffe she wyll not be true lost ys my love farewell adewe

III

Though ye my love were^a a ladye fayr
passing all other in bewtye to ensue
Should your false love cause me to dispaire
nay my Love nay farewell adewe

Sometyme to me youe were right kinde
and nowe to me youe be vntrue
Should I therfore beare sorrowe in mynd
nay my Love nay farewell adewe

Should these faire wordes *and* swete countenance
cause me to enclyne towardes youe
except I knowe a better assurance
nay my Love nay farewell adewe /

finis

IV

Alas myne eye whye doest *thou* bringe
allwayes my hart in payne *and* woe
Sythe thowe me rulest in everye thing
whye art thou thus my mortall foe/

V

Adewe pleasure welcome mornynge, alas all payne nowe ys my part
for I see well *that* my sweting doth not consyder my true hart/

VI^a

Ah my hart ah this ys my Songe with weping eeis nowe *and* then among
opprest with paynfull Sighes stronge that ah my hart ah
And where as I should haue redresse I fynde no poynt of gentlenes
but ever rewarded with vnkyndnes that ah my hart ah

^a MS. *were were*.

^a This song is mentioned in the *Complaynt of Scotland* (E. E. T. S., Extra Ser., xvii, 65) as "O myne hart hay this is my sang," and a spiritual

I see of love she can no skylle *and* yet nedes must I love her styll
 for I cannot withdrawe my goodwyll that ah my hart ah
 Alas alas the more ys my payne she lacketh pytye or elles disdayne
 To muche in her yt dothe remayne that ah my hart ah

She hath reclaymed me to her lure I haue *the* payne *and* she *the* pleasure
 regarding not what woe I endure that ah my hart ah

Thus comfortles I am alway were I not better dye a great ney
 yes yes hardelye come deathe I the pray that ah my hart ah/

All trewe Lovers pray for me *that* my Swete hart may haue pytye
 or elles wyll death be myne extremytye that ah my hart ah

fynis

VII

Sauns remedye endure must I in paynes deadly for my mistres
 onlesse *that* she doe me petye of her bountye *and* great goodnes
 I may complayne as one in payne yea of certayne *and* noblelease
 thus morne I may in paynes allway, both nyght *and* day in great distres

Trowe youe *that* I can Slepe nyghtlye nay nay hardelye I am so afrayd
 I turne I typ, I sighe I wepe, I call I clepe to venus for ayde

I dare not name howe fonde I *am*, for verye shame by god above
 some men would trowe to make me a doe *that* doe not knowe the paynes
 of love

Therefore mistres let see expresse some gentlenes for love I call
 for doutles ye may reclayme me and no paynes be to youe at all
 Or elles trulye endure must I in paynes deadly for my mystres
 alas *that* she doth not petye of her bountye *and* great goodnes

finis/

VIII

Parting parting I may well synge hath caused all my payne
 from her to part yt greveth my hart, ye wot not whom I meane

parody of it is in the *Gude and Godlie Ballatis*, 1567 (Scottish Text Soc., 1897, 139-140), beginning:

All[sic] my hart ay this is my sang,
 With doubill myrth and ioy amang,
 Sa blyith as byrd my God to fang,
 Christ hes my hart ay.

The refrain is reminiscent of that of Wyatt's song (ed. Foxwell, I, 323), beginning:

A! my herte, a! what aileth the
 To sett so light my libertye,
 Making me bonde when I was fre.
 A! my herte a! what aileth thee.

A most fayre *and* true ye cause me rue your absence ys my payne
 yet youe to Love by god above I cannot me refreyne
 for ye were she which comforted me *and* made me mery *and* glad
 for your kynd resort dyd me comfort when I was heavy *and* Sad
 wherfore Swete hart thoughe I should smart *and* great paynes long endure
 of my poore Love by god above ye shalbe ever sure

f[i]n[i]s/

IX

Alas to whom should I complayne or shewe my wofull heavynes
 syth fortune hathe me in disdayne, *and* am exyled remedylesse/

X

O what a treasure ys love certeyne when hertes be sped *and* cannot refrayne
 my ladye loveth me well my ioy no tong can tell in her ys petye *and* no
 disdayne

XI

This nyghtes rest this nyghtes rest, adewe farewell this nightes rest
 In a garden vnderneath a tree, together *the* floures *that* grewe therbye
 walking alone I dyd espye a man in paynes that was prest,
 and sorowfullye thus could he crye adewe farewell this nyghtes rest/
 I mervayled what this man dyd meane his teares ran downe all from his eyes
 that he had lost his colour cleane a carefull crye then vp he cast
 that I might see that I haue seene adewe farewell this nyghtes rest
 I asked hym the questyon why *that* he lay there all pytyouslye
 he said goe hence *and* Let me Lye my dolor cannot be redrest
 for above all other yet cause haue I to sey farewell this nyghtes rest
 for gone away ys all my gladnes *and* come nowe ys my heavynes
 thus I am lefte alone helpelesse and must forbear *that* I love best
 which no man can I trowe redresse wherfore adewe this nyghtes rest
 And yet farewell *that* creature *that* hathe my hart wofull in cure
 for whom I must so endure yet her to please I would be prest
 she hathe reclaymed me to her Lure to say farewell this nyghtes rest
 Thus am I left alone *and* governor here haue I none
 nor wot to whom to make my mone for there ys none *that* I dare trust
 I can no more but ever one adewe farewell this nyghtes rest

finis/

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SAINT-AMANT AS "PREROMANTIC"

In his searching analysis of the "Dryden-Tonson" and Dodsley Miscellanies, Professor Havens has called attention to a remarkable anonymous poem "On Solitude" which appeared in the 1716 revision (I, 261-67) of the earlier anthology; "though its style suggests the first quarter of the seventeenth century, [it] may have been written a hundred years later."¹ The lively interest in wild nature, in ruins, in the sea, in the "graveyard school" paraphernalia which includes the "Carcass" of one who hanged himself for love, seems strangely out of order in 1716.

The poem is a very close rendering of Saint-Amant's *La Solitude* (1617 or 1618), much closer than Fairfax's *The Solitude*² (date unknown) which omits five stanzas of the original and transposes another.³ This translator follows the French stanza by stanza with accuracy and some felicity. The following is a representative specimen:

Que c'est une chose agreable
D'estre sur le bord de la mer,
Quand elle vient à se calmer
Après quelque orage effroyable!
Et que les chevelus Tritons,
Hauts, sur les vagues secouées,
Frapent les airs d'estranges tons
Avec leurs trompes enrouées,
Dont l'eclat rend respectueux
Les vents les plus impetueux.⁴
How highly is the Fancy pleas'd,
To be upon the Ocean's Shore,
When she begins to be appeas'd,
And her fierce Billows cease to roar!
And when the hairy Tritons are
Riding upon the shaken Wave,
With what strange sound they strike the Air,
Of their Trumpets hoarse and brave,

¹ R. D. Havens, "Changing Taste in the Eighteenth Century. A Study of Dryden's and Dodsley's Miscellanies," *PMLA*, XLIV (1929), 514.

² Clements R. Markham, *A Life of the Great Lord Fairfax*, London, 1870, pp. 419-23.

³ See Geoffrey Woledge, "Saint Amand, Fairfax and Marvell," *MLR*, xxv (1930), 482.

⁴ *Œuvres Poétiques de Saint-Amant*, ed. Léon Vérane, Paris, 1930, p. 7.

ADDITIONS TO THE POEMS OF LORD DORSET 457

Whose shrill Report, does every wind
Unto his due submission bind! ⁵

Here is additional evidence of the Augustan taste for early seventeenth-century poetry.

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SOME ADDITIONS TO THE POEMS OF LORD DORSET

By providing a "Checklist of the Poems of Charles Sackville, Sixth Earl of Dorset and Middlesex,"¹ Miss Helen A. Bagley has filled a long-standing need and earned the thanks of those to whom his contemporary reputation is a puzzle. It is possible, however, to supplement her researches and carry the work a little further. The completest collection of Dorset's poems before that for which Johnson wrote the preface was apparently in *The Works of the Most Celebrated Minor Poets*, 1749, vols. I and III, not noticed by Miss Bagley.² This contains all the poems in her list, with the exception of "The Duel of the Crabs" ("In Milford-Lane, near to St. Clement's steeple"), "Poem, by a Person of Honour" ("Though, Phyllis, your prevailing charms"), "Song" ("Corydon beneath a willow"), "The Antiquated Coquet" ("Phyllis if you will not agree"), and "The fire of love in youthful blood." Next, *The Works of Celebrated Authors*, 1750, vol. I,³ includes all the pieces of 1749 except two: "A Faithful Catalogue of our Most Eminent Ninnies" ("Curs'd be these dull, unpointed, doggrel Rhimes") and "On Dolly Chamberlain" ("Dolly's beauty and art"). These are, significantly, also omitted by the Johnson edition, and there is reason to think that by 1750 some doubt was cast on their authorship.⁴

⁵ "Dryden's Miscellany," edition of 1716, I, 265. The piece was reprinted in John Nichols's *Select Collection of Poems*, I (1780), 130-38.

¹ *MLN.*, XLVII (November, 1932), 454-461.

² British Museum, press-mark 238. c. 1.

³ British Museum, press-mark 238. g. 10.

⁴ Seemingly no collection reprints the song,

In vain, Clemene, you bestow

The promised empire of your heart, etc.,

said by A. H. Bullen in his *Musa Proterva*, 1902, p. 40, to have been contributed to Southerne's *Sir Antony Love*, 1691.

From a search of British Museum manuscripts, made in 1931, I am able to add to the canon. One of the printed poems, "On a Lady who Fancy'd Herself a Beauty" ("Dorinda's sparkling wit and eyes") is found also in MS. Lansdowne 852 on folio 113, where it has four stanzas, and in Harleian 7315, f. 234. The Lansdowne MS. (? 1725) contains other poems of Dorset. At f. 61 is one entitled "On Mrs: Roche By My L^d: Dorset found among his Papers after his Death"—of which, however, a better and apparently earlier text is in Additional 40060 at 66^b, styled "A Prophecy by the E of Dorset found amongst his papers upon Mrs Roch having been contracted in Ireland and the Match after broke off." As the compilation of this manuscript book was begun, if one may judge by a note inside the cover, on "Nov. y^e 17th, 1701," these verses must have been transcribed soon after the Earl's death. They have a peculiar interest, in that, according to the *DNB*, Dorset married, as his third wife, on 27 August, 1704, "Anne, 'Mrs. Roche,' a 'woman of obscure connections.'"

Like a true Irish Merlyn that misses her flight
Little Nanny lies sullen and Peevish all night
Tho the Iack-daw has scap't her the losse is not great
She may yett catch a Woodcock, and that's better meat.⁵

On f. 84 of the same manuscript is "A Ballad made by the Late Earl of Dorset, Adapted to the Present Time," with date March 17¹⁰/₁₁. It is a renovation of the famous "To all you ladies now at land." A longer unpublished piece of Dorset's occurs in Stowe 970, f. 45, a scurrilous verse-letter, perhaps addressed to Moll Howard. Could the "Lady N—" who is its subject possibly be the eccentric Margaret, Duchess of Newcastle?

MY LORD DORSETS VERSES ON LADY N—

Courage Dear Moll, and drive away despair
Mopsa who in her youth was ne're thought fair
in spite of age, experience & decay
sets up for Charming in the fading day
shoots her demy Eyes to give one parting Blow
have at the heart of every Ogling Beau
this Goodly goose all featherd like a Jay

⁵ Variants in Lansdowne 852 are: 1. true : right; misses : has lost
2. Poor Nancy lay pensive and Sighing 3. Iack-daw has scap't : Jack-
Daws escap'd 4. may catch

so gaudy looks, & so demurely gay
 last night so grave the Court did over load
 her bald Buff forehead with a high Commode
 her steps were managed with such tender art
 As if each board had been a lovers heart
 In all her air, in every glance was seen
 a mixture strange twixt fifty and fifteen
 Crowds of admiring fops about her press
 Hamden himself delivers the address
 fair Queen of fopland is her Royall stile
 (fopland the largest part, of this large Isle)
 Nature did ne're more equally divide
 a female heart twixt piety and pride
 her watchfull maids prevents the break of day
 and all in order on her Twoilet lay
 prayer book, & patches, Sermon, notes, & paint
 at once to adorn the sinner & the Saint
 fair well freind Moll, expect no more from me
 you'll find her some where in the Littany
 with Pride, vain Glory, & Hypocrysie

The following pieces, of which I have, unfortunately, no copies, are attributed in manuscripts to Dorset:—

1. "Dorset's Lamentation for Moll Howard's absence" ("Dorset no gentle nymph can find"), Harleian 6914, f. 47b, Harleian 7319 (a manuscript dated 1682), f. 103. (Probably not by Dorset).
2. "A Hugh and Cry after Fair Amoret 1696" (Fair Amoret is gone astray"), Harleian 7315, f. 243^b, Lansdowne 852, f. 115. (Printed as Congreve's in his *Poems upon Several Occasions*, 1710).
3. "My Opinion" ("After thinking this fortnight of Whig and of Tory"), Harleian 7319, f. 103b.
4. "Old Simon ye King" ("This making of Bastards great"), Harleian 7319, f. 155^b.^{*}

Perhaps some future editor will subject these attributions to severe critical examination and give us finally a complete text of Dorset's poems.

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^{*} There is another poem on f. 371.

A RESTORATION "IMPROVEMENT" OF THOMAS DEKKER

The fact seems not to have been noted that Dekker's pamphlet *News from Hell* (1606), revised by him and published in the following year as *A Knights Coniuring Done in Earnest: Discovered in Iest*,¹ underwent a second revision seventy years later at the hands of some one else. This version of Dekker's satire, a little octavo volume which I have seen only in the British Museum, bears the title *Poor Robin's Visions: Wherein is Described, The present Humours of the Times; the Vices and Fashionable Fopperies thereof; And after what manner Men are Punished for them hereafter*.² The unknown plagiarist,³ seeing the resemblance between Dekker's Lucianic satire and the racy version of Quevedo's *Sueños* made by Sir Roger L'Estrange ten years earlier, hoped obviously to capitalize upon the popularity of the latter book.⁴

At the beginning the volume offers an almost exact reproduction of Dekker's text, but soon the "author" modifies the old-fashioned original in various ways, paraphrasing, omitting, and supplementing freely and not always for the worse. Dekker's third chapter

¹ *Early English Poetry, Ballads, and Popular Literature*, ed. E. F. Rimbault, Percy Society, London, 1842, vol. v.

² *Licensed May 17, 1677. Roger L'Estrange. London, Printed for, and sold by Arthur Boldero . . . 1677.* Listed anonymously in W. C. Hazlitt's *Collections and Notes 1867-1876*, London, 1876, p. 361.

³ Sir Sidney Lee in his article on Robert Winstanly in *DNB*. attributes this pamphlet to that author, on the grounds, no doubt, that the man who in his opinion wrote the almanacs of "Poor Robin" must have written *Poor Robin's Visions* too. But, in the first place, there is some uncertainty as to the authorship of the long series of almanacs (see *Notes and Queries*, 6th series, VII [1883], 321-322) and even more as to the authorship of *Poor Robin's Intelligence*, 1676-1677, and of several single-sheet satires, called *Poor Robin's Memoirs*, published in December, 1677 (Bagford collection, Harl. 5958, in the British Museum). Secondly, there is no striking resemblance in style between the almanacs and the original portions of *Poor Robin's Visions*. And finally, I see no reason to prevent our supposing that the man who stole the major part of the contents of his book stole his title also.

⁴ L'Estrange's *The Visions of Dom Francisco de Quevedo Villegas*, 1667, had reached a "Fifth Edition" in 1673. The considerable vogue in England during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries of satiric communications with, and pictures of, the nether world I shall treat elsewhere.

and part of the fourth are omitted, as are the passage on the usurer in Chapter Six⁵ and many references to Elizabethan authors in the ninth chapter. One quotation will serve to illustrate the quality of the revision as well as the carelessness with which the volume was printed.

Charon having just discharged his freight; I cry'd a *Boat*, a *Boat*; for I was unwilling to go over with such a crowd of miserable sad Souls. My voice being heard by this Skuller, although he was very weary; over he came; As soon as I was well seated, *Charon* began to complain what a bawling there has been, with what fares he has been posted, and how with much tugging (his *Boat* being so thwack the has split one of his Oars; and broke his *Boat-hook*, so that he can row but slowly till it be mended. And were it not that the Souls pay excessive rents for dwelling in the body, he swore by the *Stygian Lake*, he would not let them pass thus for a trifle, but raise his price; *why may not he do it, as well as fine Misses their rotten Commodities?*⁶

Although Dekker's style in this pamphlet was extravagant enough, that of *Poor Robin's Visions* is not only fantastic but facetious and gross in addition. Especially is this characteristic notable in the original portions. And not without cause. For in the seventh Vision, which is entirely new, and in the eighth, which adds a great deal to a brief use of Dekker's ninth chapter, there are quite obvious imitations of the Quevedo-L'Estrange visions of corruption on earth and in hell. The noisy, busy scenes of folly and vice and the equally strong and lively language of the L'Estrange volume are approximated more successfully in the seventh Vision than elsewhere. Nor is the combination of Dekker modernized and L'Estrange imitated disharmonious. It is, however, the vitality of Dekker's writing which furnishes the book its force.

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⁵ Ed. Rimbault, pp. 53-61.

⁶ *Poor Robin's Visions*, pp. 45-46. Compare Rimbault, p. 43.

HAKEWILL AND THE ARTHURIAN LEGEND

An oversight of some importance in Professor R. F. Brinkley's *Arthurian Legend in the Seventeenth Century* (Baltimore, 1932) is the omission of Dr. George Hakewill, than whom not even the esteemed Selden was more overwhelming in his doubt of the Trojan origin. In the *Apologie or Declaration of the Power and Providence of God in the Gouvernement of the World* (1627), which is "an examination and censure of the common error touching Natures perpetuall and universall decay," Hakewill considers "diverse other opinions justly suspected if not rejected, though commonly received," among which he displays this one:

That *Brute* a *Trojan* by Nation, and great grandchild to *Aeneas*, arrived in this Iland, gave it the name of *Brittaine* from himselfe, heere raigned, and left the government thereof divided among his three sonnes, *England* to *Loegrius*, *Scotland* to *Albanak*, and *Wales* to *Camber*: Yet our great *Antiquary** beating (as he professeth) his braines, & bending the force of his wits to maintaine that opinion, hee found no warrantable ground for it. Nay by forcible arguments (produced as in the person of others disputing against himself) he strongly proves it (in my judgement) altogether unsound & unwarrantable. *Boccace*, *Adrianus Iunius*, *Polydorus*, *Buchanan*, *Vignier*, *Genebrard*, *Molinaeus*, *Bodin*, and other Writers of great account, are all of opinion, there was no such man as this supposed *Brute*: And among our own ancient Chroniclers, *Iohn of Wethamsted*, *Abbot of S. Albion*,† holdeth the whole narration of *Brute* to have been rather Poeticall, then Historicall, which me thinkes is agreeable to reason, since *Caesar*, *Tacitus*, *Gildas*, *Ninius*, *Bede*, *William of Malmesbery*, and as many others as have written any thing touching our Countrey, before the yeare 1160, made no mention at all of him, nor seeme ever so much as to have heard of him. The first that ever broached it, was *Geffrey of Monmouth*, about foure hundred yeares agoe, during the raigne of *Henry* the second, who publishing the *Brittish* story in Latine, pretended to have taken out of ancient monuments written in the *Brittish* tongue: but this Booke as soone as it peeped forth into the light, was sharply censured both by *Giraldus Cambrensis*, and *William of Newbery*, who lived at the same time; the former terming it no better, then *Fabulosam historiam*, a fabulous history; and the latter, *ridicula figmenta*, ridiculous fictions, and it now stands branded with a black coale among the bookes prohibited by the Church of Rome.¹

* *Camden: Britan: de primis Incolis.* † *In granario, Anno 1440.*

¹ *The 3d Edition much Enlarged* (London, 1635), p. 9. Previously printed in 1627 and 1630; I have not been able to consult these editions.

Although explicitly concerned with the Trojan origin, this also condemns the Arthurian matter at its source, and makes altogether a rather devastating résumé. Professor Brinkley's book provides many similar arguments, but perhaps none more strongly adverse, and none which leaves the British story exposed in a catalogue of vulgar errors.

Hakewill's *Apologie* supplied the thesis for disputation at the Cambridge Commencement of 1628, when Milton urged Hakewill's contention (borrowing his arguments) in a Latin poem, "Naturam non pati senium." But this is not the place to consider whether Milton eventually turned his energies from a poetic fiction so that he might combat the idea of "universal decay" by his own justification of the Providence of God. It is sufficient to remark that a mind which was so Jacobean as to draw up its own "Christian Doctrine" could not express itself in romance.

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AN ATTRIBUTION TO SUCKLING

In *A Book of Seventeenth-Century Prose* (New York, 1929), the editors, R. P. T. Coffin and A. M. Witherspoon, ascribe to Suckling "A Sermon on Malt," to which they append this footnote: "This letter is on the back of fol. 102 of Ashm. MS. 826, Bodleian Library. It is here printed for the first time." If they mean that this version is here printed for the first time, they are probably right; but if they mean that this sermon on malt has not been printed before, they are mistaken. For John Ashton included it in his *Humour, Wit, & Satire of the Seventeenth Century* (New York, 1884, p. 411), where it is reprinted from *Coffee House Jestes Refined and Enlarged* (London, 1686). This version, which is called *A Preachment on Malt*, offers a better text and makes good some of the points which are fumbled in the Coffin and Witherspoon book. In satiric effect the later reprint is also weakened by its abbreviation of the 'division' in the Jacobean sermon, which is being parodied.

As a sample of the superiority of the Ashton text, let me instance the opening lines. Where the Coffin and Witherspoon text reads

There is no teaching without division. This theme cannot well be divided into many parts, because it is but one word, nor yet into syllables, as being a monosyllable. It must therefore be quartered into four letters, and those being M. A. L. T. do form the word *malt*, my theme (p. 456)

the Ashton text reads

There is no preaching without Division, and this Text cannot well be divided into many parts, because it is but one word, nor into many Syllables, because it is but one Syllable. It must therefore be divided into Letters, and they are found to be four, viz. M. A. L. T. (p. 411).

Although the loss by abbreviation does not appear in this example, words like "teaching" and "theme" rather muff their points, and certainly the latter text, with its expert parallelism, is a better parody of the style of a preacher like Lancelot Andrewes.

The grounds for attributing this mock-sermon to Suckling or for calling it a "letter" are not given.

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EDITIONS OF PERCY'S MEMOIR OF GOLDSMITH

Because copies of Oliver Goldsmith's *Miscellaneous Works*, London, 1801, containing the important Memoir of Goldsmith prepared in large part by Thomas Percy, are not readily accessible, it seems desirable to correct the current misconception expressed by Miss Katherine C. Balderston in her *History and Sources of Percy's Memoir of Goldsmith* (Cambridge University Press, 1926, p. 52) that here is to be found the "sole edition of the Memoir." On the contrary, this same life of Goldsmith appeared in at least six other editions of Goldsmith's *Miscellaneous Works*. Those published in London in 1806, 1812, and 1820 were, like the original edition of 1801, issued by a large group of booksellers associated for the purpose, the members of which varied somewhat through the years. The Boston reprint of 1809 was brought out by Hastings, Etheridge and Bliss and others; that published in Baltimore in the same year, by Coale and Thomas; and the Baltimore reprint of 1816, by F. Lucas, Jr. and Joseph Cushing. Probably there were still other editions, for Percy wrote Robert Ander-

son on May 24, 1808, that in addition to the *Miscellaneous Works* and Memoir of 1801 "two more elegant editions have been printed in London." He undoubtedly refers to the edition of 1806 and to some other which I have not discovered.

Two other editions of the *Miscellaneous Works* contain lives of Goldsmith which closely parallel the Percy Memoir but are not identical with it or with each other. One was "printed by and for R. Chapman" of Glasgow in 1816, the other in 1821 for a group of booksellers in London, Liverpool, York, Edinburgh, and Glasgow. The latter is of particular significance because it seems to be that to which Washington Irving refers in his life of Goldsmith, where he says in a footnote: "The present biography is principally taken from the Scotch edition of Goldsmith's works, published in 1821."

IRVING L. CHURCHILL

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THE ORIGIN OF A BALLAD

Theories are still being formed in the controversy concerning the communal or individual authorship of ballads. The hopelessness of ever settling the question is seen in the misinformation gleaned from local sources concerning the lumberman ballad of "Jack Haggerty."

JACK HAGGERTY

- 1 My name is Jack Haggerty, from Greenville I come,
All pleasures departed, all joys I disdain;
From the strong darts of Cupid, that gave me such grief,
Till my heart breaks asunder I shall ne'er get relief.
- 2 My calling is rafting, where the Flat River rolls,
My name is engraved on its rocks and sand shoals,
Through shops, bars, and households it's very well known,
They call me Jack Haggerty, the pride of the town.
- 3 I will tell you my troubles without more delay,
How a sweet little lassie my heart stole away.
She was a smith's daughter, on the Flat River side,
And I always intended to make her my bride.
- 4 Her form like the dove was most slender and neat,
And her hair hung in ringlets to her tiny white feet,
Her voice was as clear as the nightingale's song,
And it rang in my ears all the day and night long.

- 5 I dressed her in muslin, in silk, and in lace,
In the costliest of jewels her hands I encased.
I gave her my wages each month to keep safe,
I begrudged her of nothing I had on the earth.
- 6 I took her to suppers, to parties, and balls,
On Sunday, boat riding was the first early call,
She said that she loved me as we strolled through the town,
Her words sweet as music o'er the rise of the morn.
- 7 I worked on the river, I earned quite a stake,
I was steadfast and steady, I ne'er played the rake,
I was bouyant and happy on the boiling, white stream,
My thoughts were of Anna—she haunted my dreams.
- 8 One day on the river a letter I received,
She said from her promise herself would relieve,
That her marriage to a loved one she had long time delayed,
And the next time I saw her she would ne'er be a maid.
- 9 Her mother, Jane Tucker, was the one most to blame,
She caused her to leave me, and blacken my name,
She cast off the rigging that God would soon tie,
And left me to wander, till the day that I die.
- 10 Farewell to Flat river, for me there's no rest,
I'll shoulder my peavie and I will go west.
I'll go to Muskegon, some comfort to find,
And leave both Flat river and Anna behind.
- 11 Now all you bold raftsmen, kindhearted and true,
Don't rely on a woman—you're beat if you do.
And if ever you meet one with brown chestnut curls,
Just think of Jack Haggerty and the Flat river girl.

While making a collection of ballads and folk-songs near Belding, Michigan, I heard of the "Jack Haggerty" song and of Anna Tucker, the heroine. Having learned that her son, William Mercer, lived in Greenville, near Belding, I interviewed him concerning the origin of the song. The details which he gave me were so different from those given in the song that I became interested in the problem and traced and interviewed the relatives of Anna Tucker and some of the older residents of Greenville.

I found that the people around Greenville have accepted as facts the details embodied in the song.

The relatives of Anna Tucker and some of the older residents, however, gave me an entirely different story. The most complete account was given me by Mr. Joseph L. Kitzmiller, now eighty-three years old, who married Anna's younger sister, Mary, in July

1873. He told me that Jack Haggerty worked for some time for a man by the name of Charley Wells who lived in the "upright" part of the Tucker home. Anna had never paid any special attention to Haggerty and had never "kept company" with him. Anna Tucker was born in Grand Rapids, Michigan, in 1856, and at the time this song was composed was the belle of Greenville. Her mother's name was Sarah, not "Jane" as given in the song. The Tucker home was on the main street of Greenville, almost on the bank of the Flat River. Across the street was the blacksmith shop of Anna's father. During the winter of 1872-3, Jack Haggerty, then about nineteen years old, worked in the same lumber camp with George Mercer, Anna's fiancé, and with Dan McGinnis, a red-haired, red-faced Irishman who had been educated for the priesthood. Mercer, who was almost ten years younger than McGinnis, was made foreman of the camp, and this made McGinnis and some of the other older men very jealous. They "got their heads together and composed this song"¹ and signed Jack Haggerty's name to it. McGinnis did not know Anna Tucker but knew that she was Mercer's fiancée and used this song as a means of hurting him.

Practically the same story was given by Mr. John Tucker, Anna's brother, three years younger than she. Mr. Tucker said that Jack Haggerty "wasn't smart enough to write" the song, but he did not say that McGinnis wrote it. Mr. Charles Finch, an old lumberman who worked in the woods with Haggerty and McGinnis, said that everyone in the camps understood that McGinnis had composed the song. Anna Tucker's son and daughter, William Mercer and Mrs. Nora Nichols, remembered the story of the song's origin told by their mother as being similar to that of Mr. Kitzmiller. Mr. C. L. Clark, the informant quoted in the notes of the collection by Franz Rickaby,² seems not to have told Mr. Rickaby that he had heard that Jack Haggerty did not compose the song.

¹This hints at a somewhat communal origin of the song. McGinnis, however, seems to have been acknowledged generally as the "moving spirit" of the group, and is usually accepted as the sole author.

²Collector and editor of *Ballads and Songs of the Shanty-Boy* (Harvard University Press, 1926). Mr. Rickaby states in his Introduction, xxvii, "And it is more than likely that 'Jack Haggerty' is built upon fact of some sort, although the material presented in the Notes establishes with certainty only Jack's historicity."

He told me, however, that that idea rather spoiled the song for him, and he did not like to believe it. The information given to Mr. Rickaby by Mr. Clark differs greatly from that which he gave me, a fact which illustrates the unreliability of such information.

From this study of the origin of this song it seems most probable that Jack Haggerty did not compose nor was he directly responsible for the song which has borne his name throughout the United States and Canada.

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REVIEWS

FRIEDRICH SCHLEGEL: *Neue philosophische Schriften*. Erstmals in Druck gelegt, erläutert und mit einer Einleitung in Fr. Schlegels philosophischen Entwicklungsgang versehen von JOSEF KÖRNER. Mit einer Faksimilereproduktion von Schlegels Habilitationsgesuch an die Universität Jena. Frankfurt a. M.: Gerhard Schulte-Bulmke, 1935. Pp. 393.

On January 12, 1929, one hundred years had elapsed since the death of Friedrich Schlegel, who may in a sense be called the father of German Romanticism. However, although scores of works have been written about "deutsche Romantik," especially during the last few decades, our knowledge of him, his ideas and his works has remained of a lamentably fragmentary nature. His so-called *Sämtliche Werke* are by no means complete, his various philosophical lectures edited by Windischmann and others are as fragmentary as his *Prosaische Jugendschriften* published by Minor, and his letters are known only in part even to scholars.

While others have written scintillating books on the subject, utilizing the partially available sources plus their own sometimes brilliant powers of imagination or combination, Josef Körner of Prague has for some thirty years been at work tracking down new sources. His remarkable success, in Treves, in the family of the Bonn professor J. W. J. Braun, in Coppet and elsewhere should be a matter of common knowledge by this time. But it would be equally desirable if more were known about the bitter disappointments and heart-breaking frustrations which have attended Körner's efforts to publish this veritable mountain of new material, which will do much to correct and adjust our views of the Schlegels and of Romanticism in general.

It redounds to the credit of the Frankfurt publisher Gerhard Schulte-Bulmke that he has made it possible for at least a small portion of this new matter to see the light of day. The items which Körner presents here are six in number, namely:

1. *Transcendentalphilosophie*. Transcription, by an anonymous student, of Schlegel's lectures at Jena during the winter semester of 1800-1801. Pp. 115-220. Purchased by Körner from the Leipzig dealer Gustav Fock in 1927.

2. *Skizze zu einem Vortrag über Philosophie für Frau von Staël*. Delivered during the winter of 1806-1807. Pp. 240-258. Now in the University Library of Bonn; a poor copy, chiefly by the hand of two of Schlegel's Cologne friends, J. B. Bertram and S. Boisserée. Schlegel's original seems lost.

3. A review of Jacobi's *Von den göttlichen Dingen und ihrer Offenbarung* (1811) in *Deutsches Museum*, 1812. Pp. 263-278. Has been known only to a few Schlegel specialists.

4. *Anmerkung zu einer Recension der Jacobischen Schriften im XIV. Bande des Hermes*. Pp. 278-289. In vol. 19 of the *Wiennese Jahrbücher der Literatur*, 1822. Signed only with initials and never before identified as Schlegel's work; first referred to by Körner in *Briefe von und an Friedrich und Dorothea Schlegel*, 1926, p. 558.

5. and 6. Two papers, each entitled *Von der Schönheit in der Dichtkunst*. 1795-1796. Pp. 363-387. In the municipal library at Treves.

These new products from the workshop of Friedrich Schlegel, accompanied by notes whose sparseness is to be explained solely by financial difficulties connected with publication, are prefaced by three valuable and important essays by Körner, "Friedrich Schlegels philosophische Lehrjahre" (pp. 3-114), "Friedrich Schlegel und Frau von Staël" (pp. 223-239), and "Friedrich Schlegels Entwurf einer Ästhetik" (pp. 333-362). The reviewer believes that these one hundred fifty pages present a more accurate account of Schlegel's importance and a more illuminating analysis of his mind than has ever been essayed before.

Körner makes it clear that metaphysics formed Schlegel's main occupation throughout his life. He was an empiricist, without a strict method, and really strove for a glorified popular philosophy, without ever venturing to formulate it fully. His main work, Körner proves, is not to be found in the much-discussed aphorisms or fragments of his youth, but in the neglected drafts and writings of his mature years. And his conversion represents no sudden rupture; it is part of a steady, unbroken line of development, a gradual ascent. It should be considered not the end but the begin-

ning—a key to the man, showing a scientific desire for a theoretical faith, a philosophical religion.

Schlegel's philosophy, Körner shows, is essentially a philosophy of history and stamps him as the first exponent of "Geistesgeschichte." His Spinoza-Hemsterhuisian philosophy formed a polar union with that of Kant and Fichte. He desired a synthesis of the two great currents of the eighteenth century, that of Kant < Fichte, based on Plato, and that of Lessing, Herder, Jacobi < Goethe, based on Spinoza. But he did not imitate any man; he strove to supplant them all. If Romanticism fuses the two great movements of the eighteenth century, the increasingly radical Rationalism with its individualism and the old, sometimes subterranean irrationalist-antiindividualistic wave, young Friedrich represents the former and the convert Friedrich the latter.

As for the Jena lectures which Körner publishes and which depend largely upon Fichte, Spinoza and Schelling, it is interesting to note that here Schlegel is already veering away from Fichte in content, though not in formal matters, that the notorious doctrine of irony has vanished, and that the idea of immortality, derived from Spinoza, is identical with Goethe's, who acquired it by way of Schelling, however. Ideologically the Jena lectures represent a halfway station on the road to the Paris-Cologne lectures of 1805-1806.

Körner throws new light on the relations of Hegel and Schlegel (p. 88 ff.) and has a psychological explanation for many of Schlegel's bad traits, such as his biting wit, arrogance and smartness (p. 95). Jacobi attracted and repelled Schlegel because he saw in him a reflection of his own vacillation between Christianity and Spinozism, faith and knowledge, philosophy and poetry. But Schlegel did not stop at Fichte and idealism, as Jacobi did. His philosophy and theosophy went beyond Fichte, for he was a heathen by dint of his reason, a Christian by virtue of his heart. Like Schelling, Schlegel strove for development from realism to spiritualism by way of idealism. In short, even in the bosom of the Mother Church Schlegel remained a Romantic, and in his theology a philosopher.

Schlegel never rounded out his philosophy; its "eigentliches Wesen," like that of his Romantic poetry, was "daß sie ewig nur werden, nie vollendet sein kann." To sum it up in a sentence: In 1788 the philosopher Schlegel began with a nebulous yearning, which by 1798 had become a system; transcending his power of logical expression, however, it was transplanted by him into the realm of poetry, until presently a super-conception, that of religion, developed, which embraced both philosophy and poetry. But he was first and always a dilettant. As for his importance today:

Manche seiner Lieblingsideen, die dem empiristischen 19. Jahrhundert abstrus erschienen, wie etwa die Lehre von einer werdenden Gottheit,

erfahren in unsern Tagen feierliche Urständ; Grundstellungen seines Denkens sind in Simmels Relativismus, in Bergsons Intuitionismus, in Max Schelers Religions- und Liebestheorie, in Jaspers und Heideggers Existenzphilosophie, in der neuen christlichen Philosophie des Russen Berdjajew neu bezogen worden. Heute, wo so viele nach einer positiven Philosophie suchen und den Idealismus hinter ein wieder lebendig gewordenes Christentum zurückdrängen, wird auch der christliche Denker Friedrich Schlegel willkommen sein (p. 114).

Körner's discussion of the relation of Friedrich and Mme de Staël adds to the knowledge supplied by Countess de Pange in *Mme de Staël et la découverte de l'Allemagne* (Paris, 1929). Friedrich met her about half a year after his brother Wilhelm did. He was her guest at Coppet for six weeks late in 1804 and again at Acosta Castle near Rouen from November, 1806, to April, 1807. On the latter occasion he delivered to her his lectures on German philosophy, which she desired in preparation for *De l'Allemagne* but later did not use. They became estranged in 1807 when she felt that his demands exceeded the value of his services, and were never again permanently reconciled, although they continued to think highly of one another.

The two papers on esthetics, which appear in last place but should, chronologically, be at the head of the volume, with the second paper preceding the first, form useful supplements to Schlegel's already known contributions on the subject. By a process of clever piecing together Körner succeeds in evolving and exposing Schlegel's esthetic "system" more adequately than ever before.

It is to be sincerely hoped that American scholars interested in German Romanticism will give this volume a warm welcome. For it will depend largely upon the reception of Körner's work whether he will be able to publish additional finds. And their publication is of transcending importance, for no further work on German Romanticism can profitably be done until these materials have been made accessible.

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Bibel und deutsche Kultur. Veröffentlichungen des Deutschen Bibel-Archivs in Hamburg. Bd. II. III: Die Psalmenverdeutschung von den ersten Anfängen bis Luther. Beiträge zu ihrer Geschichte mit tabellarischen Übersichten. Erste, Zweite Hälfte hrsg. in Gemeinschaft mit FRITZ JÜLICHER und WILLY LÜDTKE von HANS VOLLMER. Mit einem Sonderabschnitt "Die jiddische Psalmenübersetzung" von SALOMO BIRNBAUM. IV: Verdeutschung der Paulinischen Briefe von den ersten

Anfängen bis Luther. Beiträge zu ihrer Geschichte mit neuen Texten, synoptischen Tabellen und 3 Bildtafeln hrsg. in Gemeinschaft mit FRITZ JÜLICHER, WILLY LÜDTKE und RICHARD NEWALD von HANS VOLLMER. Potsdam, Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft Athenaion, 1932, 1933, 1934. Each volume M. 20.

These publications of the Bibel-Archiv at Hamburg, edited by Hans Vollmer in co-operation with the other scholars cited above, are an important contribution to our knowledge of the German Bible before Luther. Volumes Two and Three, devoted to the Psalms, consist primarily of tables giving, side by side, readings from selected Psalms from as many as eighty texts, from the Old Saxon, Anglo-Saxon, and Old High German down to and including Luther, both in his earliest as well as in his later redactions. The selections from the Psalms proper are supplemented by some of the Canticles, as well as the Lord's Prayer, so that we have before us, in numerous versions, the following biblical passages: Psalm 6, 28, 29, 31, 37, 50, 101, 114, 129, 138, 142; I. Sam. 2, 1-10; Matth. 6, 9-13; Luke 1, 46-55; 68-79; Luke 2, 29-32; in addition, under the caption *Splitter*, there are brief excerpts, sometimes of only a few words, from a number of other Psalms. Several of the above Psalms (6, 31, 101) are among the so-called Penitential Psalms, and thus enable comparison with Luther's earliest translation, namely *Die Sieben peßpsalm* of 1517.

Volume Four, devoted to the Pauline Epistles, is similar in structure to its predecessors, but here the parallel texts (Romans 13, 11-14; I. Cor. 5, 7-8; I. Cor. 13, 1-13; Philippians 2, 5-8; Hebrews 12, 28-13, 8) are followed by the full text of the Pauline Epistles as found in two recently discovered manuscripts, at Gotha and Salzburg. This part of the volume is edited by Richard Newald, the remainder is the work of Vollmer and his other associates.

The parallel texts are preceded by an exhaustive commentary, in which are considered not merely the readings of the biblical texts in the various ancient versions, but also the glossators and commentators whose interpretations might have influenced a given passage: Jerome, Augustine, Cassiodorus, Chrysostomus, Gregory, Nicolaus de Lyra, Petrus von Herenthals, and others. On occasion, biblical quotations in sermons and the like are also adduced. On the basis of all these readings, Vollmer attempts to discover the relationship of the various German translations, coming to the conclusion that these are much more dependent upon one another than had hitherto been assumed: he posits a "Traditions-Strom, dessen Spur wir überall verfolgen konnten" (III, 68), and is also sure "Daß auch Luther nicht unbeeinflußt blieb von älterer Tradition"

(ib.). This conclusion is arrived at by a cumulation of evidence such as the following:

In Psalm 37, 2 (II, 42) Vollmer considers *straelas pine*, the Anglo-Saxon translation of *sagittae tuae*, when compared with *dine strâla* of Notker, as an indication of relationship between the two versions: I fail to see how one can attach any weight to a frequently occurring West Germanic word such as this, when used in its normal meaning. On the same page, Vollmer considers the agreement of Zainer (ca. 1475) and Luther in translating *iniquitates* by *missetat* as remarkable. But the word *missetat*, as a reference to Graff, Lexer or Grimm will show, goes back to Ulfilas, and is found in many Old and Middle High German texts, Graff and Lexer citing more than two score examples, from the Old High German glosses down to the *Zimmerische Chronik*. How can any importance be attached to the use of such a word? Similarly, in Psalm 101, 7 (II, 74) the Anglo-Saxon Interlinear Version translates *nycticorax* by *naeththrefn*, while the Windberg Psalter here has *nachtrabe*: Vollmer considers this agreement as very striking (*ganz auffällig*). Here again Graff cites more than a dozen instances from Old High German, while Diefenbach¹ cites an even larger number from glossaries of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; Grimm also (VII, 204) gives numerous references to texts of all periods: is it not more logical to assume that the Windberg scribe got the word from a German glossary, rather than from the Anglo-Saxon? Moreover, the composition of the word is so simple, and the translation so literal, that a translator of average intelligence would hardly need outside help.

Psalm 142, 6, in the Vulgate of to-day, reads: "Expandi manus meas ad te: anima mea, sicut terra sine aqua, tibi." Vollmer particularly stresses the fact that the words *anima mea* were left untranslated by Notker, as well as by Linköping, Hamburg 2060, and the two editions of the Cologne Bible:

Wie hat hier Notkers Text unter der Oberfläche nachgewirkt? Daß sich auch hier seine Spur verrät, ist doch wohl anzunehmen, solange nicht eine gemeinsame lateinische Vorlage nachgewiesen ist, in der das *anima mea* fehlte. Wir kennen eine solche Vorlage nicht.

This conclusion does not follow at all: in the first place, the words *anima mea* stand alone in the Vulgate, without a verb, so that two redactors, unable to construe them, might independently have omitted them; secondly, not all the medieval manuscripts of the Vulgate have come down to us, and thirdly, I doubt whether Vollmer has collated all that have come down. The late Eberhard Nestle, when editing Luther's Latin edition of the *Pentateuch* etc. (1529), noted a large number of unusual readings of this edition,

¹ *Glossarium Latino-Germanicum mediae et infimae aetatis*, Francofurti, 1857, p. 380.

but was unable to discover the particular edition of the Vulgate used by Luther as his source.

The fact that the reviewer is unable to follow Vollmer in all his deductions is not intended as an implication that his task, in general, has not been well done: on the contrary, he and his associates have produced an accurate and painstaking piece of work, remarkably free of misprints.

W. KURRELMAYER

La Terre et les Morts dans l'Oeuvre de Chateaubriand. By OLGA LONGI. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1934. Pp. 138. \$1.25.

In recent years many of the literary works in France deal with the theme of patriotism and nationalism, especially in their relation to the native province, the ancestral home, and the cult of the dead. This trend is particularly noticeable in the works of such writers as Maurice Barrès, Charles Maurras, Jules Lemaitre, Paul Bourget, and Henri Bordeaux. Miss Longi in her interesting work has made a careful study of this subject in the writings of Chateaubriand. In her Preface she states her purpose as follows: "Un essai de définition et d'analyse du sentiment de la patrie dans l'œuvre de Chateaubriand en fonction du culte du passé et de la terre ancestrale."

An excellent background for the proposed study is presented in the Introduction (pp. 13-46) where a valuable sketch is given of the development of the idea of patriotism in France, with its various aspects, from the Middle Ages up to the time of Chateaubriand. The main body of the work is devoted to tracing the conception or sentiment of "la patrie," both on the literary and political sides, in the writings of Chateaubriand from the *Voyage en Amérique* through the *Mémoires d'Outre-Tombe*. The first period studied is the one in which were written *le Voyage en Amérique*, *l'Essai sur les Révolutions*, and *les Natchez*. In his desire for individual liberty the author frees himself from social bonds and repudiates the "patrie." *Le Voyage* is a glorification of nature, *l'Essai* is the negation of christianity, civilization and sentiment; the *Natchez* is a further development of the same themes. *Le Génie du Christianisme* may be considered as representative of the second stage in the evolution of Chateaubriand's conception of patriotism. Here love of country is considered as a moral instinct of divine essence. It begins with affection for one's birthplace and "le respect des cendres des morts," then, with religion as its true source, it broadens out to include the entire country. The third period, represented by the author's remaining productions, merely furnishes a new treatment, an amplification of

the ideas of the *Génie*. At the end of her "Conclusion," Miss Longi presents an evaluation of the influence of Chateaubriand's conception on later writers with illustrative passages from their works. She wisely refrains, throughout the book, from claiming for her author too much influence in this direction. Her conclusion in this matter may be summed up in her own words, "Le premier, il (Chateaubriand) entreprend de renouveler, illustrer, vivifier une idée déjà existante."

Miss Longi has done an excellent piece of work on a subject particularly difficult because of its many ramifications.

D. H. CARNAHAN

University of Illinois

L'Influence française dans l'œuvre de Pope. By E. AUDRA. Paris: Champion, 1931. Pp. 650.

In this large volume the evidence for Pope's indebtedness to French predecessors is presented in a loosely chronological-biographical arrangement. The account is readable, but a book of this size is more often consulted than read entire. One who goes through it all becomes aware of certain limitations that may not appear to the reader of a few pages. These limitations are chiefly due to the complexity of the material and to the method of attack.

There are, to be sure, numerous typographical errors, and there is no dearth of the small factual errors that are likely to creep into works of this sort. Pope's life and his personality are consistently misrepresented after the general fashion of Whitwell Elwin; but such details are perhaps irrelevant to the main purpose of the book. More important is the occasional misunderstanding of a poem or a passage in it. The first *Moral Essay* seems to Audra a reply to La Rochefoucauld; it is hard to believe others will share this view. The second *Moral Essay* he regards as violent and bitter against women, whereas in central purpose it is merely a compliment to Martha Blount at the expense of her variable sex. One is astonished to learn (p. 345) that Pope hated women cordially, and one can only greet with raised eyebrows Audra's opinion that "Ni Juvénal, ni Boileau surtout, n'ont rien écrit sur les femmes d'aussi dur." Audra revives the old notion that in the *Essay on Criticism* Pope wrote for critics but frequently addressed poets. Very few lines in the poem support such an idea. Audra follows Dennis in holding that the line "Still green with bays *each* ancient altar stands" indicates lack of discrimination on Pope's part: "Pope, lui, ne sait distinguer entre les grands et les médiocres. Il montre pour tous une égale admiration." He errs in thinking that the poem (ll. 584-7) attacks Dennis as a bad critic (p. 309): obviously

Dennis is here the bad poet who will brook no criticism of himself. On Ariel's withdrawal of protection from Belinda in the *Rape of the Lock* we get the astounding comment: "On ne pouvait suggérer plus discrètement, plus délicatement, à Miss Fermor ce qu'il était advenu (ou ce qu'il adviendrait bientôt) de sa chasteté!"

These faults, possibly irrelevant, serve nevertheless to undermine one's confidence in the less tangible matters of influence. Audra, to be sure, prefers to deal in tangible phrasal parallels, of which he sets forth an enormous array, of considerable average excellence. But the content of Pope's works is "what oft was thought," and the task of tracing commonplaces to exclusively French sources is difficult. Pope's reading, as Audra admits, was largely English and Classical, and one must cling to that fact. Audra tells us that for readers of Pope's day "il y avait assurément les Anciens, mais ils étaient bien loin. . . ." They seem almost out of sight in these pages. There is no doubt of the influence of French authors on Pope; one's scruples arise over specific cases only. More than once Audra uses the following thought-sequence: (1) a cautious or even a negative statement of influence; (2) a *pourtant*; and (3) a weaving about until the influence is, after all, strongly asserted (See pp. 525, 544, 549, 568). On page 525 we are told that in his conception of self-love Pope follows Shaftesbury, who answers Hobbes rather than La Rochefoucauld. A *pourtant* intervenes, and on page 527 we conclude that "Bien que dans tous ces développements il n'ait pas été question de La Rochefoucauld, c'est bien à lui que Pope, comme Shaftesbury, répondait par tout un système de philosophie optimiste."

In stressing exclusively francophile tendencies one is bound, though unintentionally, to falsify the picture. Consequently one ought to be very cautious in presenting large qualities such as love of order and clearness, as national traits to be attained by the English only through study of French models. When Audra looked into Bysshe's *Art of Poetry*, he found the section on prosody "trop clair et trop systématique pour être purement anglais" (p. 590 n.). He felt that there must be a French original; and with Gildon's help he has discovered Bysshe to be a close translation of part of Lancelot's *Nouvelle Méthode pour apprendre la Langue Latine* (1656). In spite of this brilliant practical exploitation of a "hunch," the idea that order and clearness (unless borrowed) are impossible to Bysshe's race will hardly have a wide appeal.

Audra provides many an illuminating parallel that shows Pope's ability in domesticating the phrases of others. He has made brilliant discoveries such as, above all, the original of the letter from Pope to Louis Racine which puts it beyond all doubt that Pope did not wish the *Essay on Man* to be regarded as anti-Catholic. In spite of such enviable achievements the detailed reasoning and general method frequently seem unimpressive.

Preoccupation with a single group of sources entails a bias in favor of the group. If Audra had assembled all the parallels—English, French, and Classical—for a single poem, such as the *Essay on Criticism*, no unavoidable bias need have existed. As it is, such a limitation injures a volume that contains, nevertheless, a mass of specific and valuable information.

GEORGE SHERBURN

University of Chicago

Goldsmith and His Booksellers. By ELIZABETH EATON KENT.
(Cornell Studies in English, Vol. xx.) Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press, 1933. Pp. 119.

The story of Goldsmith's literary career is very largely the story of his relations with what had come by the middle of the eighteenth century to be called "The Trade." Had Miss Kent concentrated her efforts on telling this story in its full detail afresh from the sources, she would undoubtedly have written a book for which all students of Goldsmith himself and of the literary history of his time would have been grateful. What she has actually attempted, however, is something very different: it is to sketch the history of Goldsmith's dealings with his principal publishers—Griffiths, the Dodsleys, Newbery, Davies, Griffin—in the context of an account, also somewhat rapid and sketchy, of the lives and characters of each of these men. The result is a book quite lacking in focus, in which most of the statements about the booksellers are irrelevant to an understanding of Goldsmith, and many of the statements about Goldsmith contribute little or nothing to the characterization of the booksellers.

This would not matter so much, perhaps, had Miss Kent made amends for her want of a unifying theme by adding significantly to our knowledge of the various persons and episodes with which she deals. Except on one relatively minor point, however—the source of Griffiths' LL. D. degree (pp. 13-15)—she has little to say, either about Goldsmith or his booksellers, that is not easily accessible in the standard biographies and works of reference. Her knowledge of the available secondary literature, moreover, is by no means complete—witness her neglect of the valuable papers on Goldsmith by R. W. Seitz; and her use of the authorities she does know is too often negligent and uncritical. As a consequence she perpetuates a good many of the errors of her predecessors and occasionally adds new ones of her own. Mr. Seitz has called attention elsewhere to the inadequacy of her account of Goldsmith's relations with Griffiths in 1758 and 1759 (*MP.*, xxxi, 316-17), and a fairly long list could be made of similar confusions and mis-

statements in her treatment of other points. I content myself with mentioning some of the more obvious slips:

Pp. 20, 31, 115: it is an error to say that Percy published "a short life of Goldsmith" in 1774 "under his own name"; no such book, signed or unsigned, is known; the *Life* which Miss Kent evidently has in mind is an anonymous pamphlet based largely upon Glover's article in the *Universal Magazine* for May, 1774.—P. 22: one would like to know the evidence for the statement that Dr. Milner, the common friend of Goldsmith and Griffiths, "at times contributed to *The Monthly Review*"; there seems to be no mention of him in Griffiths' marked copy in the Bodleian (see B. C. Nangle, *The Monthly Review, First Series, 1749-1789*, Oxford, 1934).—P. 47: the statements about the fate of the "Chronological History of the Lives of Eminent Persons of Great Britain and Ireland" need to be revised in the light of R. W. Seitz' paper in *MP.* for February, 1931 (xxviii, 329 ff.).—Pp. 51, 61: there is no evidence that Goldsmith was allied with Newbery as early as 1758; the essays in the *Literary Magazine* for that year which were ascribed to him by Prior and Gibbs are now known to be almost certainly not his (see Seitz in *RES.*, v (1929), 410 ff.).—P. 62: the suggestion that the friendship between Goldsmith and Johnson had its origin in Goldsmith's essay on "The Fame Machine" in the *Bee* for November 3, 1759, is pure conjecture; the earliest clear record of any personal relations between the two men dates from May, 1761.—P. 64: *The Art of Poetry on a New Plan* and *A Poetical Dictionary* are two distinct works and not two (or, as Miss Kent seems to imply, three) forms of the same work; with the latter, so far as is known, Goldsmith had nothing to do (the compiler was Samuel Derrick), and his share in the former cannot be determined with any precision.—P. 64 n.: the statement which Miss Kent quotes from my *New Essays by Oliver Goldsmith* requires modification in view of Seitz' article on *The Lives of the Fathers* (*MP.*, xxvi (1929), 295 ff.).—P. 65: the statement that Newbery paid Goldsmith £20 for revising *The History of Mecklenburgh* rests on nothing more substantial than an admitted guess by Prior (repeated by Forster), made in the course of an estimate of Goldsmith's income in 1762: "The history of Mecklenburgh if he were actually the author, may be estimated by the value of other works at twenty pounds" (*Life*, i, 416).—P. 68: it was in October, 1762, not 1763, that Goldsmith sold a third share of the *Vicar* to Collins of Salisbury.—P. 70: his *Survey of Experimental Philosophy* was published, not "toward the end of 1765," but posthumously in 1776.—P. 70: the guess of Prior and Forster that Goldsmith contributed in 1765 to the *Museum rusticum et commerciale* is not confirmed by an examination of the contents of that periodical.

Miss Kent, it is only fair to say, writes agreeably and sympathetically of her subject as she conceives it, and is clearly capable of better work than she has done in this first book. It is a pity that she was encouraged to publish her findings so prematurely.

R. S. CRANE

University of Chicago

The Roman de longue Haleine on English Soil. By THOMAS PHILIP HAVILAND. Philadelphia: 1931. Pp. 184. (University of Penn. diss.)

By the "Roman de longue Haleine" the author means the heroic romance of the seventeenth century. This formidable type of romance is not so well known as it should be even to those specializing in seventeenth century literature, and a study such as this by Dr. Haviland, which gives a clear picture of the nature of the type and its essential characteristics, is particularly welcome. The author knows whereof he speaks; while he modestly describes his monograph as "a study of the manner, form, and content of the French Heroic Romance in translation," he gives unmistakable evidence of an acquaintance with the French originals, as well as with the English translations.

Briefly summarized the features of the heroic romance, as he presents them, are as follows: Love and war dominate; love is a mighty passion, burning, devastating, overpowering; it is worshiped to the point of idolatry and governed by a very definite code. War on a grand scale is always in progress or imminent; the fate of cities, kingdoms, and empires hangs in balance, and shifts with the fortunes of the hero; pending the outcome, the reader must learn the life histories of the main and minor characters, their exploits, and adventures; everything marches in the easily recognizable heroic style, a style best exhibited in the romances of La Calprenède and Scudéry.

The English romances are described less fully but with sufficient detail to give a fair picture of their nature. These, the author shows, "fall lamentably short of the French originals" in tone and spirit; they never achieve the full length of their French models. Roger Boyle's *Parthenissa*, the best of the imitations, ran only 808 pages folio, less than one third the length of *The Grand Cyrus*, "and then was given up by the noble author in despair." As the best example of its kind it deserves the full treatment accorded it. Other heroic romances treated less in detail are: Barclay's *Argenis* (written in Latin), Richard Brathwait's *Panthalia*, Nathaniel Ingelo's *Bentivolio and Urania*, and Sir George Mackenzie's *Aretina*. After a brief discussion of the influence of the type on Aphra Behn's *Oroonoko*, Mary Manley's *New Atalantis*, Jane Barker's *Exilius*, and Eliza Haywood's *Idalia*, Dr. Haviland proceeds with a discussion of Richardson, Fielding, Smollett, Horace Walpole, and Scott.

The romances, he shows, were read in England well into the second quarter of the eighteenth century. By 1760, however, they had been forgotten. There is no direct proof, it appears, of Richardson's acquaintance with the type, although his treatment of love, a certain episodic quality of the stories, and the multiplicity

of characters may exhibit some influence. The elements that Fielding's novels had in common with the heroic romance, such as digression, character sketches, and perfect chivalry, go back, it appears, to earlier sources rather than to the intermediate type. Smollett, he thinks, was acquainted with the romances, but no specific evidence is cited.

In the novels of Sir Walter Scott, Dr. Haviland finds indisputable evidence of the author's acquaintance with the French romances. The scene in *Ivanhoe* where, the castle on fire, the Templar goes to Rebecca's apartment, is, as Scott himself admitted, imitated from the scene in Scudéry's *Grand Cyrus* where Philidaspes proposes to carry Mandane from burning Babylon. In *Peveril of the Peak*, Geoffrey Hudson is represented as reading one of Scudéry's romances. *The Talisman* and *Guy Mannering* resemble the French type in minor points of style and technique. With Scott the influence ends, in fact had ended sometime before, and Scott's interest must, accordingly, be interpreted as antiquarian. This is probably true, and we must conclude that the heroic romance did not affect appreciably the main currents of the eighteenth-century novel.

To the *Astrea*, discussed in the chapter dealing with the salon, wrong dates are assigned (p. 115). The dates should be as given by Hugues Vaganay in his edition of *L'Astrée* (1925-28, v, 551-61): i, 1607; ii, 1610; iii, 1619 (incompletely in 1618); iv, 1627 (incompletely in 1624); v, 1627 (by Baro, d'Urfé's secretary, after d'Urfé's death).

The conjecture that the 1652 translation of *Cassandra*, Books 1-3, was by the Lord George Digby is probably correct. In confirmation of this, I may add that on the title page of the copy in the Huntington Library, in the handwriting of John Egerton, 2nd Earl of Bridgewater, 1622-86, the translation is so assigned.

H. W. HILL

The University of Southern California

The Defence of Poetry, Variations on the Theme of Shelley. By BENEDETTO CROCE. The Philip Maurice Deneke Lecture Delivered at Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford, on the 17th of October 1933. Translated by E. F. Carritt. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1933. Pp. 31. \$0.40.

The Appreciation of Poetry. By ERNEST G. MOLL. New York: F. S. Crofts & Co., 1933. Pp. xvii + 266. \$1.50.

Professor Croce in his "Defence of Poetry" and Mr. Moll in his appreciation of it have used much the same formula. An imposing

set of critical fictions which are said to be incapable of definition in logical terms are put on one side of an equation, poetry on the other and the two are said to be identical. Insofar as Professor Croce is discussing the word "poetry" rather than the experience of a poem his account is not without its pleasant moments, particularly when, after expressing some irritation with the "so-called critics" who defend pure poetry (is he here referring to M. Valéry?), he announces that "pure poetry in the pure sense of the term" has "an embodied soul." The "soul of truth in poetry" is distinguished from "the soul of truth in prose" by—no Crocean will be surprised—the "word, 'intuition'." Intuition cannot be translated into logical terms (a word), is something infinite (a thing), "has no other equivalent than the melody in which it is expressed" (a sound) and may be sung (a gesture). As Professor Croce has said these things many times before and in greater detail, his present account is pleasantly deft.

Mr. Moll's situation is more serious, for Mr. Moll taught the appreciation of poetry under the auspices of the Carnegie Corporation. In order to read "creatively," he explains, "we must free the imagination . . . rise above habits of the commonplace . . . above all . . . hold steadily in mind that consciousness, awareness, for its own sake is the end of poetry"—the humor is not intended. To the vexed question of the relations between "thought" and "poetry," Mr. Moll replies that behind the "poetic reverie lie the riches of deep and concentrated thought"—a proposition which is either false or ambiguous—and asserts that the poet turns "abstractions into pictures." Our task ". . . refraining always from clumsy attempts at abstracting his ideas, is to receive those images warm and vivid through our imagination. . . ." The chapters on figures of speech and worlds of belief show that Mr. Moll is aware of the dangers which must be met when we attempt to give an account of the meanings of words by means of words. Unfortunately his linguistic instruments have not been tested with adequate care. To identify the experience referred to by the word "belief" with a "sense of reality" is not to solve the problems presented by Dante or Luther or Milton. The weakness of the book is less in the hypothesis that the appreciation of poetry can be taught, than in the attempt to induce the experience of poetry by means of these metaphors. Mr. Moll assumes, without, it would seem, adequate investigation, that the reader has "a knowledge of words sufficient to enable him to understand what is being said in a poem" (17). If a reader has this understanding, courses in the appreciation of poetry are unnecessary. If he does not have this understanding he is in need of more solid food than the airy fictions with which Mr. Moll operates. *The Appreciation of Poetry* is marred by several errors of transcription.

R. D. JAMESON

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Charles Kingsley. By STANLEY E. BALDWIN. Ithaca, New York: 1934. Pp. 207. (Cornell Studies in English, XXV.)

The purpose of Professor Baldwin's *Charles Kingsley* is, he says, "to present an account of the social, economic, and religious problems that Kingsley faced, and an appreciation of his work in meeting those problems especially as an author." His failure to fulfil this admirable program is due chiefly to the defects of a virtue peculiarly dear to Charles Kingsley—chivalry. Like her husband, Mr. Baldwin takes Mrs. Charles Kingsley far too seriously. It has not occurred to him that there might be any other basis for the evaluation of Kingsley's life than the letters which his widow, in Mr. Baldwin's phrase, "gave to the world" in 1879; he is not aware, apparently, how much the widow refrained from giving. Unsuspicious of the large mass of uncatalogued Kingsley material in the British Museum and the still more illuminating documents in private hands, Mr. Baldwin has not realized that Mrs. Kingsley colored and touched up her portrait to suit her ideas of clerical propriety, that she alters phrases, omits important expressions of opinion, suppresses much that is racy and significant. So deferential is Mr. Baldwin to her that he makes little effort to go beyond her statements, to study Charles Kingsley in his works, to consider facts and documents other than those noticed by Mrs. Kingsley. And, not being on his guard, he accepts also her critical opinions and those she saw fit to quote, with the result that his judgments are frequently of the nineteenth rather than the twentieth century.

In this brief space it is impossible to do more than suggest some of the more important points on which Mr. Baldwin's chivalry leads him amiss. He is puzzled, for instance, in *Yeast* to account for the insistence upon the holiness of the wedded state as compared with celibacy, an idea which begins there and runs through all the novels. He is unaware that the issue became a momentous personal one to Charles Kingsley when he was obliged to summon all his powers to persuade his beloved from entering a sisterhood. This is strikingly evident in the paragraphs which the "beloved" (as his widow) did not quote from the introduction to the manuscript prose *Life of St. Elizabeth*. And that this attitude of hers was no individual idiosyncrasy one may read in any number of letters and novels of the day.

In his consideration of the condition-of-the-poor chapters in *Yeast* and *Alton Locke* and his summary of Kingsley's debt to Carlyle and Maurice, Mr. Baldwin is working independently of Mrs. Kingsley and with the essential documents. Here, in consequence, he thinks clearly and adequately and this is certainly the most useful part of the book though it contains nothing which is new.

With *Hypatia* Mr. Baldwin finds himself in difficulty again because he has unfortunately tried to make a distinction between the historical and the propaganda novels. When one regards *Hypatia* merely as a picture of fifth century Christianity it is not easy to find its purpose. It must be read in the light of *Phaeton*, published in the same year, as an attack upon that Emersonianism which Kingsley considered the most dangerous heresy of his day. One of the unpublished letters to John Parker makes this clear:

I have carefully avoided pointing any moral whatsoever much as I have been tempted to make people see what I suppose the wise see without my telling them, that it is an attack on the Emersonian pseudo-spiritualism of the present day, not on metaphysical grounds, but showing in action that it has less hold on the human sympathies than even the lowest forms of orthodox Christianity.

That *Westward Ho!* was not merely an historical novel but a recruiting pamphlet for the Crimean War Mr. Baldwin admits, though here, as with *Hypatia*, he is inclined to overemphasize its value as a picture of its period. Like Mrs. Kingsley he accepts the fact that Kingsley labored over historical details as evidence of historical grasp.

Two Years Ago was, as Kingsley wrote to Maurice, "another sidestroke at the Tartarus doctrine." This Mr. Baldwin sees but he barely touches on another important problem with which it deals, the nineteenth century attitude toward the artist. Kingsley's point of view here cannot be thoroughly understood without reference to the early manuscript draft of *Yeast*—an extraordinarily interesting documents—and the complete version of the August 6, 1855 letter to Maurice:

Only do not fear that ultimately I shall be content with being "an artist." I despise and loathe the notion from the bottom of my heart. I have felt its temptation: but I *will* by God's help, fight against that.

When he considers Kingsley as an artist Mr. Baldwin shares the opinions of the poet-novelist's most enthusiastic contemporaries: he admires the "word pictures" beloved by Mudie's subscribers, he approves "Be good, sweet maid, and let who will be clever," and he summarizes Kingsley's life as "a poem of deep lyric passion."

MARGARET FARRAND THORP

Princeton, New Jersey

Cardinal Newman and William Froude, F.R.S. A Correspondence. By GORDON HUNTINGTON HARPER. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1933. Pp. 221. \$2.00.

The author's untimely death on 28 April 1934 casts a shadow of sorrow upon what would otherwise be a delightful task. The delight arises from the fact that here at last is proof that a thesis for the Ph. D. degree may be a genuinely interesting and humane document; the sorrow, that so promising a scholar should be taken from us before he had yet fairly begun his career. Gordon Huntington Harper we shall see no more in the flesh, but we shall through this volume be kept alive to the discrimination and sensitivity of his spirit.

Gordon Harper's was a rare opportunity. Such a correspondence as that between a future Catholic cardinal and a distinguished scientist and his wife — all three intimate friends — cannot perforce occur often. Newman's mind was incorrigibly theological. The nuances of subtle distinctions in theology were as natural to him as the air he breathed. However much we may be inclined to differ from him in belief, however deluded we may feel him to have been, we find it difficult not to believe that he was thoroughly sincere. He was, in his own way, a saint, and he had the saint's desire to bring all within what he thought was the true fold. William Froude, on the other hand, was agnostic and skeptical. One of the leading scientists of his time, and a member of a family almost perversely individualistic, he demanded that all subjects be brought within the pale of reason. With Matthew Arnold he believed that thinkers should "keep pushing on their posts into the darkness, and establish no post that is not perfectly in light, and firm." One can readily see that when such a religious enthusiast attempts to win such a thorough-going scientist to Roman Catholicism there will be a battle royal. That battle is the substance of this correspondence, and therein lies its value. It actually throws light upon the religious ferment of the times. Although Mrs. Froude went over to Rome, William remained steadfast in his own position. That all three maintained their friendship speaks well for their quality of character.

For this correspondence Mr. Harper has written thirty pages of introduction wherein in clear and vigorous English he tells more than is often accomplished in many a dull thesis of 300 or more pages which consist mostly of quotation. These thirty pages give the results, not the processes of research. For this reason I hail the volume as a token of a better day in literary studies. All concerned in its production merit praise: the English Faculty of the School of Higher Studies of The Johns Hopkins University for fostering the work, the Johns Hopkins Press for making a really

attractive volume from every mechanical point of view, the lamented author for working upon significant material with such admirable discrimination. Here is one thesis — if it may be called such — that shall sit on my shelves along with other volumes of vital literary and historical quality.

WALDO H. DUNN

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BRIEF MENTION

John Henry: a Folk-lore Study. By LOUIS W. CHAPPELL. Jena, 1933. After so much has been written concerning the American ballad of John Henry, the time is undoubtedly ripe for a thorough study of the history of the tradition on which it is based and an account of the varying forms the ballad has assumed. This task Mr. Chappell has carried out with great industry and ability. A ballad of "John Henry" can hardly be said to exist, since there are really many songs with diverse texts based vaguely on the adventures of one man. Indeed a problem which engages Mr. Chappell's attention, as it has that of his predecessors, is whether these songs concern one or two men. The author shows convincingly that songs about John Henry, the steel-driving man who competed with the steam drill, and about an outlaw, John Hardy, are separate traditions, though sometimes they have become confused with each other. Much of the labor in preparing the study concerned itself with tracking down traditions about John Henry. This is done with much skill. Two facts stand out: the vitality of traditions about the hero, and the great variety of these traditions, often quite inconsistent with one another. About so central a point as to his color there is no agreement. It is unfortunate that the author should feel himself aggrieved at the work of others who have treated the legend and particularly that he should take up so important a part of his study with an arguing of his proprietary rights. With this single exception the book represents a notable advance in ballad scholarship. When many other traditions have been so thoroughly studied, we may be ready to draw some safe conclusions as to the nature of American traditional songs.

STITH THOMPSON

Indiana University

Thomas Percy, Studien zur Entstehungsgeschichte seiner Werke. Von HEINZ MARWELL. Göttingen: "Göttinger Tageblatt," 1934. Pp. 130. Since, so far as he knows, no scientific estimate of the work and personality of Thomas Percy has appeared, Heinz Marwell undertakes, by an analysis and interpretation of Percy's correspondence and his diaries (1753-1811), to present evidence relating to the historical genesis of the Bishop's published and unpublished works. From such sources he cites passages that concern the development of Percy's literary endeavors. The investigation is divided into two major parts, Percy's publications and his projected publications.

This study of "the genetic process of Percy's works" is to be regarded, according to the author, only as "building-stone" to be added to similar materials garnered by other investigators out of which later "a more truly creative and scientifically grounded estimate" of Percy can be produced. As no definite thesis is stated, no conclusions are reached. But Marwell's method of handling his material and his careful documentation show a mastery of the mechanics of scholarship. Students of Percy and of Thomas Warton will be interested in what Marwell says (p. 11) concerning the Warton Papers acquired by the British Museum in 1931, which contain twenty letters in Percy's own handwriting to Warton (not accessible to Clarissa Rinaker or to Leah Dennis). There is a bibliography but no index.

HERBERT DRENNON

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The Shorter Poems of Robert Browning. Edited by WILLIAM CLYDE DEVANE. New York: Crofts & Co., 1934. Pp. xxiii + 387. Mr. DeVane's anthology embraces all of the best of Browning's shorter poems—if the length of *The Flight of the Duchess*, which is omitted, excludes it from that category—and is to be commended for its balance and inclusiveness. The volume thus avoids the danger of an *ex-parte* or merely popular choice of selections and amply illustrates the range and variety of the poet's work in the lyric and dramatic monologue. The chronological arrangement aids the reader in following the gradual development of Browning as a poet. In his Introduction, Mr. DeVane subordinates formal biography to a sketch of the growth of Browning's poetic mind and an estimation of the salient characteristics of his genius. The notes on individual poems combine accuracy of information with clearness and objectivity of presentation.

WILLIAM O. RAYMOND

Bishop's University

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